The Dissertation Committee for Kyung Sun Lee Certifies that this is the approved version of the following Dissertation:

Doing Good or Looking Good?
Communicating Development, Branding Nation in South Korea

Committee:

Karin G. Wilkins, Supervisor

Joseph Straubhaar

Sharon Strover

Robert Oppenheim

James Pamment

Doing Good or Looking Good?
Communicating Development, Branding Nation in South Korea

by

Kyung Sun Lee

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

December, 2018

Dedication

To my dad, who inspired me to pursue the life of a scholar. Our time together was far too short, but you live on in my heart.

Acknowledgements

In the course of my dissertation journey, I have benefitted from many people and institutions to whom I would like to express my sincere gratitude.

My utmost gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Karin Wilkins. I came to the Department of Radio-Television-Film nearly ten years ago to explore the intersections of critical studies, communications, and development. Since then, she has helped me to mature as a scholar, encouraging me to ask incisive questions, to confront them methodically, and articulate evidence systematically. Her enthusiastic support for my dissertation project gave me the courage to challenge myself and persevere through difficult circumstances. Oftentimes, my project was sustained by her unrelenting passion and confidence in my work. It is not only her intellectual influence, but her kindness and genuine concern for her students to which I am most indebted. I cannot thank her enough for being such an inspiring mentor.

I would like to acknowledge my committee members, Drs. Joseph Straubhaar, Sharon Strover, Robert Oppenheim, and James Pamment. They have willingly offered insightful comments and suggestions throughout the course of the project. In one way or another, they have shaped my perspectives and ideas about the dissertation. In addition to the wonderful team of committee members, I would also like to thank Drs. Shanti Kumar and Wenhong Chen, who have enriched my critical thinking and research abilities through coursework and research.

During my time away from Austin, the Global Media Research writing group has provided scholarly and social sustenance over the years, for which I am sincerely grateful. The group members were and continue to be one of the most constructive

reviewers of my work. Also, I am very grateful to my Korean RTF friends, Ji-Hyun Ahn, Jennifer Minsoo Kang, Jinsook Kim, Shinhea Claire Lee, Bumgi Min, and Hogeun Seo for their social and intellectual support. Thank you so much for being there for me, and for laughing and crying together. I also owe a special thank you to senior RTFer, Young-gil Chae, for kindly offering me space to work during the last semester of my doctoral program and pushing me to successfully complete the long journey of dissertating.

This dissertation benefitted greatly from the Doctoral Dissertation Grant from the Center on Public Diplomacy at the University of Southern California, SSRC Korean Studies Dissertation Workshop, POSCO research fellowship from the Center for East Asian Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, and a summer research fellowship from the Department of Radio-Television-Film at UT. Furthermore, I would like to thank my interview participants who willingly shared their experiences and thoughts, without which this dissertation would not have been possible.

Last but surely not least, my appreciation goes to my family. My mom, father-in-law, my two children and husband, Jain, Woohyun, and Keun Hyong Sok. This dissertation is the outcome of their relentless support and sacrifice. A special thank you to my sister, Sang Lim Sandy Lee, for your time and effort put in reading through the lengthy draft of this dissertation. My two children, I am blessed to have them in my life. When I hear the words, “Mommy, you don’t need to be the best at what you do, just be happy with what you do” uttered from my eight year old, I am reminded that there is more to life than research, but at the same time, it gives me the strength to continue pursuing what I do. And finally, my deep gratitude and love to my husband, Keun Hyong Sok, whose unconditional love and support carries me through each day.

Abstract

Doing Good or Looking Good?
Communicating Development, Branding Nation in South Korea

Kyung Sun Lee, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2018

Supervisor: Karin G. Wilkins

This dissertation examines foreign aid-related activities of South Korea to demonstrate how the discourse and practice surrounding development is understood, interpreted, and enacted by an emerging donor. The past two decades have given rise to a diversity of development actors committed to doing good for their inter/transnational counterparts, evidenced in the multi-directional flow of development programs and funds to support such causes. Emerging from the multi-polar structure of the development landscape are a diverse range of articulations, motivations, and understandings guiding development aid. This has raised fundamental questions about how to approach and understand the geopolitical field of development at present moment in time, and the possibility of emerging actors to dismantle the dominant discourse of development. The scholarly field of development communication, however, has been slow to take such shifts into consideration.

Following a critical approach to development communication, this study understands development as a discursive field where negotiation and struggle among

different actors take place at multiple levels. Based on the theoretical understanding, this study examines South Korea's development thinking and practice, specifically, in relation to its international development volunteer program.

Drawing on a discourse analysis of multiple sources data, including news coverage that examines how development is discussed over time by Korean popular press, visual images of Korea's volunteer program, and interviews with former volunteers, this study makes three points. First, geopolitical and domestic conditions over time have closely tied the understanding of development with nation building, where the two projects mutually constitute one another. Second, in examining how such enduring association of development with the national project is manifested in its representational practices of volunteer encounters, I show that the host becomes simplified, depoliticized, and romanticized, against which Korea is foregrounded as culturally rich, competent, and compassionate. Finally, drawing on an interrogation of multiple structural conditions that are implicated in development volunteering, I show the ways in which Korean volunteers navigate and complicate the dominant imaginaries of development, bringing new perspectives to nation, race, and gender in volunteer-host relationship.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The year 2010 in Korea marked an important break in its history in global development. A decade after "graduating" from its status as a recipient of international aid, the country formally gained recognition as a member of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Korea became the first-ever country to transition from previously an aid recipient in the Third World to a DAC-based donor country, joining the coordinating body of major bilateral donors[1]. The country sought to demonstrate its new status through its commitment to transnational issues by hosting international events such as the G20 Summit and High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness. For then- president, Lee Myung-bak, the recognition of Korea's role as a central development actor was embraced as an opportunity to uplift its international image not only in terms of economic strength but more importantly, through its cultural attractiveness. In a congratulatory address commemorating Korea's 60th birthday, Lee remarked:

> It is very important for Korean people to be respected by the world. But the value of brand Korea only accounts for approximately 30 percent of the nation's economic power. The proportion is no more than a small fraction of that of the United States and Japan. Even though we are one of the strongest semiconductor countries, labor disputes and violent street protests are the very first images that come to foreigners' minds when they think of Korea.
>
> If we want to be an advanced country, we need to improve our image, our reputation in a groundbreaking way. I will establish a committee under the presidential office to raise the country's brand value. I will upgrade the national brand to make it on par with that of advanced countries.
>
> We need to make friends in the international society. We need to increase Official Development Assistance (ODA) to a level that befits our status and actively engage in peacekeeping operations. I will uphold our history, culture, and

[1] The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) consists of 30 bilateral donors. Its work focuses on: 1. Setting standards of development co-operation through definition of official development assistance (ODA), recommendations on the conditions of aid, and principles of evaluation; 2. policy coordination in aid programs among member countries; and 3. periodic reviews of members' aid policies and programs.

> valuable development experience to a 'global Korea model' and share it with the world.
>
> I will send our 100,000 youth to parts of the world to work, study, and to volunteer. I will build a global network with 7,000,000 overseas Koreans to take an active part in the world stage (Lee, 2008, para. 43-46, *translated by author*)

What is noteworthy about Lee's speech is the ways in which the idea of development, or development as a frame of reference is weaved into the former president's vision of governance, nation-building, and foreign policy. The speech shows that development works both internally and externally, through global and local spheres. It is conjured to promote a nation's identity and to inspire its people to become citizens, in ways that both befit and benefit the global status of their nation. This study builds from this context, in order to understand how development is understood and communicated by Korea in a global context.

This global context needs to be considered through historical trends and power dynamics (Escobar, 1995; Wilkins, 2000). This means that development not only refers to economic considerations and national policies, but also to political agendas. The discursive field of political development foregrounds this as an arena for competition and contest for control over resources and meanings. Depending on who is in place to articulate how problems are defined and what solutions are posed, development takes on very different understandings and substantial material outcomes. This study takes a critical perspective, building on Foucault (2013) and Gramsci's (1971) conceptualizations of discourse and hegemony as the cultural production of a society's values and beliefs by the state and institutions that pervade the daily life of its people so that they appear to be logical and to project common sense. Hegemony refers to the asserted control over resources that may be contested in the practice of programs and experiences. In this process, communication is inseparable from the processes of development in that

communication contributes to maintenance, modification, and creation of beliefs and understandings surrounding development. Through public broadcasting of presidential speeches like the one presented above and through institutions such as schools, in Korea, development has become a concept deeply ingrained in the everyday, defining how people understand themselves and the nation in relation to others in the world.

However, extant work in communication in development has accorded more attention in scholarship to recipients of aid than to their donors or the broader global industry (Waisbord, 2008). Critical studies in development communication have investigated how the dominant institutions of development engage in linear and top-down modes of intervention that continue to marginalize voices of the poor (Dutta, 2011; Wilkins, 2014). While critical, participatory, dialogic, and other approaches to development communication have introduced ways to move development communication forward to amplify the voices of the marginalized, on the other hand, much less research has examined how donors seek to position and represent themselves through overseas development.

Development communication needs to accommodate the growing multi-directionality of development and the complexity of development actors. For example, countries like Thailand and Turkey serve as both donor and recipient of aid. And Saudi Arabia provides greatest amount in aid after the U.S. but limits its scope of recipients to predominantly Muslim countries (Brian Tomlinson, 2014). Furthermore, the emergence of alternative articulations of development posed by South-South development cooperation is an area that has to a large extent, remained outside the purview of development communication.

The term South-South development and its framing of geography of aid has come under criticism by scholars (Balie Smith, Laurie, & Griffiths, forthcoming; Mawdsley,

2012). The term presupposes a totality of the "South" furthering the binary construction of the dominant paradigm of development. As much as the absurdity of grouping countries that are diverse in economic, cultural and political contexts such as China, Nigeria, Brazil, Korea, and Saudi Arabia, the term connotes that the landscape of development aid is still predominated by a dichotomized frame of understanding. Nonetheless, the multipolarity of development landscape brought about, according to Emma Mawdsley (2017) an ontological shift in the "hegemonic developmental regime" through "profound re-making of (inter)national identity that has accompanied the achievement of global recognition and respect for Southern states in their role as development partners" (p. 110). Mawdsley (2017) goes on to state, "Their status as providers and not just recipients, as necessary and legitimate contributors to global development governance, ideas and resources, and indeed as rivals in the same fields, is now universally acknowledged" (p. 111).

Aid given by bilateral donors not associated with the DAC increased from five percent of the total ODA aid in the late 1990s to 20 percent of the total aid in 2013 (OECD, 2015a). This new emerging group of donors comprises nation states of diverse geographic location, size of economy, political system, and objectives shaping aid amount and delivery. Among the members of non-DAC group, rising as an alternative to the current dominant institution of development aid is South-South development cooperation. South-South development cooperation has been discursively positioned to represent an alternative model of aid. It is "based on solidarity, horizontality – as opposed to the perceived vertical nature of traditional DAC aid – non-interference in domestic affairs, and mutual benefit" (de Renzio & Seifert, 2014, p. 1861).

It is precisely this point in time that we need to question whether or not the shift in power that the global development landscape has witnessed over the past two decades

has also brought about a shift in the dominant discursive paradigm of development itself. The dominant paradigm of development views social change in terms of the maintenance of the status quo. Within the dominant paradigm, social order constitutes asymmetrical power relations formed in and through development. If the so-called South-South development cooperation is to have any potential to transcend such forms of domination we need to interrogate development thinking and practices of emerging actors. Such endeavor calls for an in-depth examination of the discourses of development and national articulation among emerging development actors, looking at how their development is accountable to whom, in other words, whose interests development serves and whether "doing good" translates to "doing well" (Wilkins, 2016, 2018)[2].

Second, this study is concerned with the current market-oriented globalization that privileges promotional practices of branding as a tool of governance and identity politics. Critical studies in development communication need to engage with how donors publicize and promote their "do good-ing" (Enghel & Noske-Turner, 2018) as a tool of legitimacy and to articulate a competitive national identity. Studies of development discuss the role of branding of aid as private actors engage in development (Richey & Ponte, 2011). However, there are not many studies that link development with nation branding, which uses public goods, in this case, foreign aid, as discursive tools to project a desired national identity.

Current trends in development indicate that countries such as Australia, Canada, and the UK have restructured their international development agencies, accompanied by

[2] The notion of "doing good" and "doing well" come from a study by van Tulder and Fortainer (2009 , 223–4), in which the authors discuss corporate responsibility in development in terms of the ethics of cooperating with other stakeholders based on the dialogic negotiation of solutions. Wilkins (2016) uses these terms in the context of development communication to make the claim that the spectacle of need to look good comes at the expense of doing well. In most recent research, Enghel and Noske-Turner (2018) uses the phrase, "doing good or looking good" to distinguish between development communication using communication to engage in development from using communication to inform about the good done.

explicit pursuit of national interests. This has been accompanied by re-formulated discourses of virtue, doing good, and "smart aid" (Mawdsley, 2017). The foregrounding of national interests begs us to consider how market-oriented globalization has contributed to politics of development. This study considers the integration of development as a branding device as a direct manifestation of market-oriented globalization. Embracing development as a tool of nation branding, in other words, taking ideas, feelings, and images associated with development to represent a certain identity of the country, extends this interest in the political agenda of development. It is a timely endeavor to understand how communication is used by development actors to publicize their activities and for what ends.

Studies on globalization, culture, and development have shown that culture is increasingly seen as a resource to be appropriated (Yúdice, 2003). Colin Sparks also notes the "increasing incorporation of all areas of human life directly into the world market" (2007, p. 154). I understand nation branding to be a manifestation of such logic of thought pervading the global relations. Development itself is defined in cultural terms for its translation to economic capital. Furthemore, commitment to development intervention is justified in cultural terms. As Lee Myung-bak's speech conveys, development is seen as a vehicle by which to spread the donor's culture abroad and enhance cultural attractiveness of the donor.

The overarching question of the dissertation asks, can South-South development cooperation subvert the dominant paradigm of development? Here, subversion would mean that development would be defined as social justice rather than furthering the current mode of capital accumulation that sustains asymmetrical relationship between the actors involved. It also involves breaking or complicating the hegemonic imaginaries related to development, such as the field's tendency to compartmentalize the world into

North v. South or West v. East or the widespread assumption of the development actor as being a Euro-American white male and culturally superior to the donor.

Within the overarching question, I use Korea as a context to understand how one national actor works within this global context of development. Korea is an apt case study to interrogate critically some of the documented recent shifts in development. It is a post-colonial nation state whose geostrategic location placed it at the center of the U.S.-led modernization intervention targeting Third World countries during the Cold War. Having achieved unprecedented economic growth in a compressed period of time, Korea has tried to shed its negative image associated with its geopolitical instability in part through its cultural policy and foreign aid programs. Korea's case offers insights into globalization of development, consistencies and ruptures in the dominant paradigm of development, the politics of development in relation to nation branding, and how citizenship is implicated in this process.

I begin by identifying Korea's conceptualizations of development within a global landscape. I raise the questions: How is the notion of development articulated by Korea's popular press? How does this vary over time? How do the ideas associated with development serve as a nation building strategy? And How does this fit within global development discourse? The chapter draws on news coverage related to Korea's development from 1960 to the end of 2014. I seek to understand how the idea of development evolves over time by unpacking how the three dominant ideas associated with development in Korea – *geundaehwa* (modernization), *segyehwa* (globalization), and *seonjinhwa* (becoming advanced) – are brought up and discussed in the popular press.

The next chapter analyzes Korea's government-sponsored international development volunteer program, in particular, its visual strategies to promote its

activities. In this chapter, I conduct a visual analysis of volunteer photos that are selected as winners in KOICA's annual photo competition from 2009 to 2013. I ask, how does the volunteer program serve Korea's development strategies? How does the program articulate Korea's position in the world? And its role as humanitarian agency? I pay attention to visuality as discourse, looking at the discursive process by which visual imagery of the (inter)national is produced.

Finally, the study goes onto look at volunteer experiences on the field. How do volunteers in this program articulate their role as development agents? How do they understand their encounters in the host country? This chapter is based on 20 interviews with returned volunteers. Based on the accounts of volunteer experiences with the host, I analyze how Korean volunteers navigate sociopolitical, cultural, and institutional conditionalities. I illustrate how such conditionalities act as both enabling and constraining forces in the ways that volunteers form relationships with the host. The chapter explores how volunteers assume the positionality of both producer and consumer of development as they encounter hegemonic understandings of nationality, race, and gender in development.

The following literature review begins with the idea of the nation as a symbolic construct. In the post-Cold War era, nations have undergone shifts in how they are understood and presented. The literature review provides an overview of major academic debates concerning globalization and the nation state. I bring in research on the political economy of development aid, focusing on the role of emerging donor states in articulating alternative assumptions and models of development aid. These discussions frame the overarching question guiding this research: Can South-South development subvert the dominant paradigm of development? The literature review on the political

economy of emerging donors is used to contextualize the case of Korea, followed by an introduction of its volunteer program, WFK.

The subsequent section of the literature review draws on critical studies of development and development communication. I bring Foucault and Gramsci in conversation as a basis for a theoretical framework with which to approach development. Then existing analytical frameworks in development communication are examined, considering how communication *about* development and communication *of* development may inform contemporary phenomena of development that is worked into and driven by the logic of branding nation.

The methods section lays out in detail the research purpose, research questions, methodological approach, and data collection and analysis process. The conclusions chapter integrates the three findings chapters to discuss how the nation produces and is produced by development. Along this line, I focus on the meanings and implications of nation branding in development. Finally, I attempt to re-situate Korea into the global context as an emerging donor and discuss my own take on South-South development and its potential to bring about some sort of change toward a more equitable and socially just relationship.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review brings into conversation several bodies of literature on globalization, nationhood, and development as a basis to think productively about Korea's engagement in development aid. I introduce theoretical perspectives that consider the nation as a symbolic construct that is constantly being re-constructed in response to the changing global and domestic social, economic, and political conditions. Then I introduce relevant literature on political economy of development, specifically those concerning the emergence of the so-called Southern countries as development actors. These studies illustrate how the emerging (or in some cases, re-emerging) donor states have propounded multiple models and narratives of development aid, some which challenge the dominant paradigm of development.

Making sense out of this shifting space of development is informed by Foucault and Gramsci's notions of discourse and hegemony. These frameworks inform an understanding of development as a field of discursive practices, in which different actors are involved in multiple levels of ongoing negotiation and contestation by mobilizing financial, cultural, and political resources.

This study goes onto contextualize development within communications studies, by bringing together a range of studies that have examined how communication channels and messages can be used as tools for social change. I also examine studies that approach communication as a political and symbolic resource whose control determines how social relationships are formed within the field of development. Based on a review of this body of literature, I lay out three analytical frameworks to be used in this research project: a critical approach to communication for development; communication *about* development; and communication *of* development. In particular, communication of development offers a link to intervene in growing instances of branding and marketing practices in

development aid activities to enhance the actor's reputation. To better understand the logic behind communication of development, the last section of the literature review introduces studies that look at how culture is figured into development and national identity building.

2.1 The Nation in Global Context

How do people come to think of themselves as part of a nation? And how is it that a majority of people foreground national affiliation over ever-increasing connections and alliances forged at subnational, regional, and transnational levels? This section draws on relevant literature that formulate the idea of 'nation' as a construct that is constantly in flux, influenced by the geopolitical context on one hand and domestic political context on the other.

2.1.1 The Nation and its Components

An abundance of studies has over the years sought to explain why and how nations developed, and how nations are maintained over time (Anderson, 1983; Billig, 1995; Gellner, 2006; Hobsbawm, 2013; Smith, 2010). While the point of creation is debated, it is generally understood that the nation is a socially constructed entity that grows out of aspirations and loyalties. One of the first efforts to define the meaning of the nation was by Earnest Renan (1882/1990). argued that a nation is, above all, a product of human needs and the will to form a social union. As he put it,

> A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present- day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. (Renan, 1882/1990, p. 20).

Renan's work inspired many subsequent publications that explored what constitutes and sustains the idea of nationhood. These studies are noteworthy here for how they conceived of culture coming into play in constituting the idea of nationhood, which works to bind its constituents together. Benedict Anderson (1983/1991) built on Renan's work to defined the nation as an "imagined community": It is imagined because people who will never come into contact with one another nonetheless share certain ideas and ideals about their nation (1991, pp. 5-7). Anthony Smith (2010) also notes that the ideal of nationhood relates to cultural issues that other ideologies neglect. Unlike other political ideologies, the nation is seen as a cultural artifact in that it is bound by a shared system of ideas and signs, which forms the basis for what Anderson refers to as a "community," or "deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6).

Studies that approach the nation as a political construct explicate how nation-building involves selection, combination, and codification of previously existing values, symbols, memories and the like, as well as the reworking of this process over time and with change in circumstances (Smith, 2010). In a similar way, Hobsbawm (1983) observed that traditions such as the national flag and the national anthem were "invented" in order to "inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour" (p. 1). Such inventions are "modified, ritualized, and institutionalized for new national purposes (Hobsbawm, 2013). Scholars of nationalism have suggested that such collective consciousness of the nation is produced and perpetuated through large-scale public institutions, such as education, religion, and media. Anderson saw print capitalism (i.e. mass media) and the vernacular language as opposed to Latin, which allowed people to imagine themselves as part of a community. Understanding the nation as a singular concept, has over time, been criticized for its neglecting contested meanings that different groups compete to control (see Verderey, 2012). However, for the purpose of this study, I am concerned with the

national project as a hegemonic ideology that seeks to create national citizens in and through first, cultural social institutions, such as family, school, and the media (Balibar, 1991), and second, through constant re-interpretation and re-invention of cultural norms and practices.

Understanding the national form as a construct entails that it is not static but undergoes changes according to political and economic conditionality. Ernest Gellner posits that the idea of the nation is "contingent" (2006, p. 6). As Smith states, "change is built into the definition of national identity, yet it is change that operates within clear parameters set by the culture and traditions of the nation in question and its distinctive heritage" (p. 23). Here, I argue that we need to consider the geopolitical as well as the societal and the institutional context to understand how constructive components associated with nation evolves.

In recent times, scholars have raised the question of how ideas of nationhood and national identity evolve amidst globalization (Beck & Levy, 2013). Competing perspectives exist on whether the nation state is still a legitimate and powerful site of belonging and identification despite the increasingly porous nature of national boundaries (see Jin, 2014). While this debate is ongoing and has yet to be settled, others argue that the debate is rendered less meaningful when one considers the concept of a nation as a "perpetual imaginary" that has and will continue to adapt to and shift along with shifting political economic conditions (Croucher, 2015).

2.1.2. GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONHOOD

The first part of this review provides an overview of relevant literature that examines the relationship between contemporary globalization and the response of nation states to shifts in the global political economic order. Scholarly debate on globalization at

the turn of the 21st century was focused on the impact of globalization on nation states. Questions such as "Will the nation-state survive globalization" posed in *Foreign Affairs* (Wolf, 2001) sought to figure out how increasing flows of people, capital, and goods across national boundaries as well as environmental and security issues that transcended territories would affect the legitimacy of nation states as a necessary framework of identity, allegiance, and affiliation.

Early debates on globalization and the nation state were divided into whether or not the power and the autonomy of the state would be weakened by the shift in the political economic order. At the one end of the academic debate, the emergence of a fundamentally new world order was seen as weakening the autonomy of nation states (Appadurai, 1990; Castells, 2010; Gill, 1995; Hardt & Negri, 2001). Stronger alliances beyond the national boundaries through the network (Castells, 2010) and widening "scapes" of mobility of people and content (Appadurai, 1990) were seen to compromise the imaginary of a national identity. Research on transnational networks as a form of collective organizing emphasize political and social participation above and beyond the nation state, emphasizing network connections (Castells, 2012; Hardt & Negri, 2001; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). These studies explore the possibility of post-national sensibilities and cosmopolitan subjectivities formed around the idea of democratic principles, which transcend the boundaries of the nation. Cosmopolitanism and global citizenship in this context stand in opposition to globalization, which is conceived to be an expansion of neoliberal capitalism as world order.

At the other end of the debate, the nation state was still seen to constitute a powerful entity in the global political economic system. Ellen Wood (2003) argues, "neoliberal globalization does not bring about an end of the nation state but that the state continues to play an indispensable role in circulating and maintaining the conditions of

capital accumulation" (p. 139). In particular, when it comes to controlling the everyday lives of people, the nation state continued to be of prime importance. "National governments are still key sites of power," Curran (2002) notes, in that: "They are still centrally important, for example, in determining the organization of welfare services, education, moral regulation (or the lack of it), penal policy and acts of war. They also continue to be dominant in an area of particular concern to media studies – communications policy" (p. 183). Zygmunt Bauman's claim that "states set up and enforce rules and norms binding the run of affairs within a certain territory" (1998, p. 60) also echoes Curran's claim.

However, towards the mid-2000s, scholars moved away from questioning whether or not, but towards inquiries of how nation states might perceive and adapt to changes in the neoliberal geopolitical context. Ulrich Beck and Daniel Levy (Beck and Levy, 2013) argue that it is essential "to explore how exactly this malleability and contingency of nationhood evolves in a global context" (p 5). In the context of post-Cold War globalization, representational strategies of nation states increasingly follow the logic of branding in order to justify their existence (Van Ham, 2002). In both supranational and national level, the emergence of culture as a driving force of state identity, such as the notion of "soft power" (Nye, 2004) as a post-Cold War principle in international governance, have increasingly pushed nation states to compete based on attractiveness of values rather than fear of military might.

2.2. Political Economy of Development

The emergence of diverse actors in global development towards the turn of the millennium has brought about a substantial shift in the landscape of development. In particular, the tremendous diversity and growing number of emerging (or re-emerging)

donors present a range of opportunities for their beneficiaries and for development policies, ideologies, and governance. And reflecting the diversity of donors are multiple interests and concerns that drive development practices. Jan N. Pieterse (2010) refers to such architecture of global development as a "development field." In referring to development as a "field," Pieterse is concerned with how certain meanings of development, dimensions of development, and perceptions of development taken place over time.

Uncovering the dynamics of different interests and concerns within the development field may be achieved by attention to its changing context and structure. Attention to the political economy of global development helps us improve our analysis of development as a field of scholarship and as an institutional project (Enghel, 2015). I look at politics of bilateral development aid, bringing to consideration the emergence of different models and, specifically, looking at how Korea fits into this broader structure of the global development field.

2.2.1 GLOBALIZATION, NATIONHOOD, AND DEVELOPMENT

Foreign aid in its modern conception was institutionalized following WWII. Inspired by the Marshall Plan's reconstruction work in Europe, Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) was created in 1961 to provide economic, financial, and technical assistance to Third World countries (Hynes & Scott, 2013). Within the OECD, Development Assistance Committee (DAC)[3] serves as a primary forum in setting definitions and norms regarding what constitutes "development

[3] The 30 members of DAC are comprised of Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, European Union, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States.

assistance." It sets the parameters of what should be counted as aid and the proportion of aid that goes to Least Developed Countries (LDCs) over middle-income countries. In light of increasing cross-border flows of people, resources, and ideas, the DAC has been undergoing debates on whether or not to count as spell out ODA domestic expenditures on students from developing countries, cost spent to refugees in donor countries, and development awareness programs targeting domestic citizens, among others (Hynes & Scott, 2013). Such debates reflect the nature of development as a site of enduring contestation of meaning by different actors involved, and in constant flux along with global circumstances.

The development field is constituted by a diverse range and multiple levels of actors. This includes networked NGOs, civil society, supranational organizations like the UN and the World Bank, philanthropic organizations, multinational corporations, and at the level of individuals, migrant workers. Such actors all have differentiated understanding of development as well as different concerns and priorities – interests that are articulated and contested through ideas and funding. These actors in the development field have created multiple centers of power and interest in the structure of global development. This is indicated by the diversification in the source of aid as well as the growing total amount of aid. While the proportion financed through classic ODA and loans has remained relatively steady over time, it is the private sources, from foreign direct investments, private grants, bonds and securities, and migrant workers that have increased, making up this difference. For example, remittances flowing into developing countries are higher than ODA funds by approximately four times[4] (World Bank Group, 2017). From 2012 to 2016, an average of 70 percent of the total amount going to

[4] Remittances to developing countries are estimated at $444 billion in 2017 (World Bank, 2017).

humanitarian assistance was funded by bilateral donors while approximately 30 percent came from private sources including trusts and foundations, corporations, and individuals.

2.2.1.1 Bilateral Donors

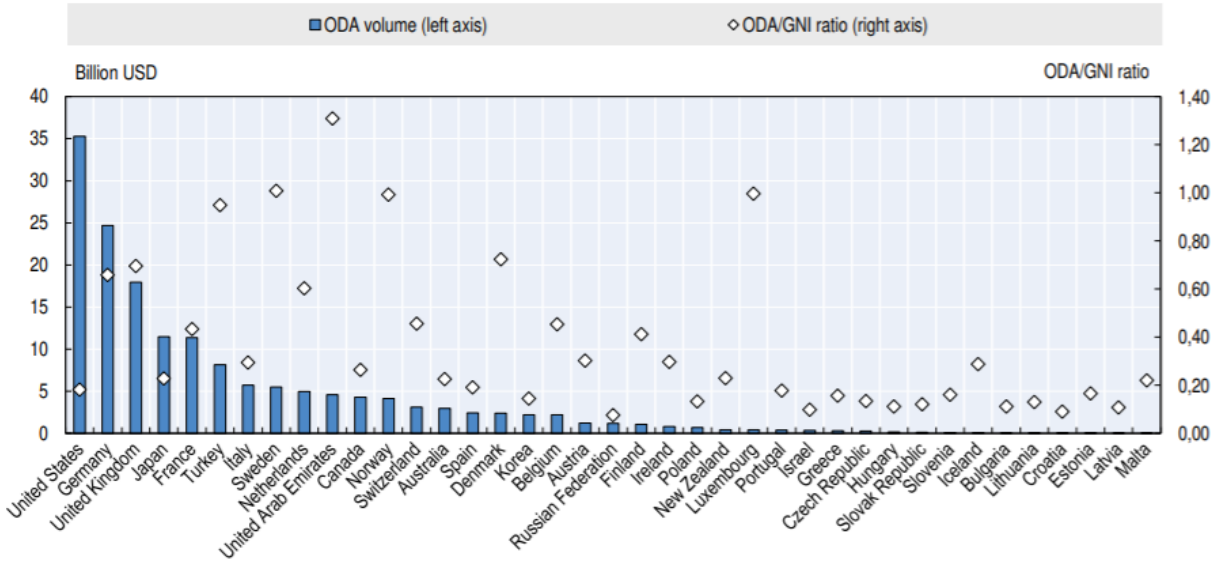
Although responsible for the highest proportion of global development assistance, the possibilities for citizens and governments to receive money directly from private contributions, through families, foundations, corporations and other non-public sources, have been steadily increasing with more integrated economic globalization (OECD 2014). Still, bilateral assistance remains central to the global development industry.

Focusing on DAC donor contributions to development assistance, overall ODA has been steadily increasing over the last five decades, propelled by increased funding to bilateral and to multilateral programs. In 1960, ODA was registered at US$ 37.6 billion in allocations. Twenty years later, this amount had increased by 70 per cent (US$ 63.7 billion in 1980), and even more by 1990 (US$ 85.4 billion). Although the total volume of aid went through a sharp decline then throughout the 1990s with a 20 percent decrease to US$ 70.5 billion by 1997, in our more recent decades we are witnessing the highest amounts ever documented for development assistance: From 2006 to 2016, development funding rose by 30 percent from USD 128.1 billion to USD 146.6 billion (OECD, 2018a).

In charting the bilateral agencies' presence in global development, we could consider the overall amounts dedicated to foreign aid, or the proportions of their government funding allocated for this purpose. If listing donor countries in terms of the absolute amounts given, the top five include the US (US$ 35.3 billion), Germany (US$ 24.7 billion), the UK (US$ 17.9 billion), Japan (US$ 11.5 billion), and France (US$ 11.4 billion). Together, these five countries contributed US$ 100.8 billion, or 69 per cent of

total DAC assistance in 2017. But when considering how much a country donates in relation to their available resources, as percent of their Gross National Income (GNI), different countries lead, starting with Sweden (1.01 percent), followed by Luxembourg (1 percent), Norway (0.99 percent), Denmark (0.72 percent), and United Kingdom (0.7 percent; OECD, 2018a). While the US may be the largest donor in terms of absolute amount given, its percentage of resources devoted to development is only 0.18 per cent, placing it at19th in rank among all DAC members.

Table 1. Net ODA flows, in volume and as percentage of GNI, 2017[5]



[5] Source: OECD (2018), Development Co-operation Report 2018: Joining Forces to Leave No One Behind, OECD Publishing, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/dcr-2018-en.
This table includes ODA as reported by both DAC and non-DAC countries

2.2.1.2 Politics of Bilateral Development Aid

National agencies devoted to foreign aid seek to articulate their image and position themselves through their foreign aid policy on a geopolitical stage. Foreign assistance is said to comprise an instrumental tool of soft power, or the ability to attract others by promoting a positive image and values toward which others aspire (Nye, 2004). The abilities of national governments to perform as development donors reflect not only their available surplus wealth, but also their position within a geopolitical context. Post WWII Cold-War politics forced many governments to align themselves along east-west axes, in accordance with US and Soviet Union (SU) agendas. As Japanese and German economies began to recover post WWII, bolstered by serious reductions in military expenses, these nations began to emerge as donors. And as other countries in the global South accumulated more comparative wealth and as regional dynamics gained in strength, these geopolitical conditions fostered more diverse development donors.

In 2016, approximately 22 per cent of total development assistance (US$ 135 billion) was dedicated by countries outside of the dominant DAC (OECD, 2018b), representing a significant shift in the development industry to include an emerging group of donors not previously part of this industry. This new emerging group of donors comprises nation states across geographical regions, with divergent political systems, as well as disparate economic resources. These non-DAC members exemplify an alternative to the current dominant institution of development aid through what is being called South-South cooperation. This model of cooperation is posed as an alternative to the conventional DAC approach given assumptions that this form of development will be "based on solidarity, horizontality – as opposed to the perceived vertical nature of

traditional DAC aid – non-interference in domestic affairs, and mutual benefit" (De Renzio & Seifert 2014, 1861). The volume of South-South development cooperation is growing at a rapid pace, at an annual average of 21 per cent (Atwood, 2012). This South-South cooperation, while including many donors, does appear to be dominated though by the governments of Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and China, together accounting for 90 per cent of the "South" initiated development aid (B. Tomlinson, 2014, p. 176).

Many of these emerging donors work primarily within specified regions, connected through linguistic, cultural and religious associations. For example, while Brazil's ODA flows are allocated across the globe, its technical cooperation projects are launched specifically in Portuguese-speaking countries (Center for Global Prosperity, 2013). Saudi Arabia, which has been the largest donor in volume of foreign aid after the U.S. over the past four decades, focuses its funding to Muslim countries. Between 2003 and 2012, Yemen was the largest recipient of Saudi foreign aid. Turkey is another regional donor whose increasing role in humanitarian assistance is directed toward preserving Islamic solidarity and historic ties within the region. In 2011, Turkey pledged US$ 250 million in humanitarian relief assistance to Somalia (Aynte, 2012). More recently, the country provided 70 percent of non-DAC global humanitarian aid (US$ 2.3 billion), most of which was directed at Syrian refugees displaced along its border region. Although technically a member of OECD if not formally of DAC, Turkey has continued to identify its development activities as South-South cooperation, leading some scholars to conclude that "Turkish development cooperation … seems to be aimed at fulfilling the function of a mediator between Northern and Southern positions and players by placing itself in neither camp" (Renzio & Seifert, 2014, p. 1868).

The four countries comprising the majority of non-DAC funding have their own particular senses of mission, some of them using their wealth to leverage status and some building potential markets. While development funding from varied countries in the global South may date back as far as the 1950s, it is not until the early 2000s, with the rise of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and from 2010, South Africa) that we see these national actors leveraging their economic growth to strengthen their geopolitical stature (O'Neill, 2001). Dominant particularly in their own regions, these countries differ dramatically in their political systems, economic conditions, and cultural histories. As a group these five countries represent 20 per cent of the world's GDP, as well as 26 per cent of global military expenditures (Armijo, 2007).

China leads this group in total allocations for overseas development (US$ 2.47 billion in 2011), followed by India (US$ 0.73 billion), Russia (US$ 0.50 billion), Brazil (US$ 0.36 billion) and South Africa (US$ 0.10 billion; Center for Global Prosperity, 2013). Notably, China has provided resources to countries that have been ostracized by Western donors. These recipients include North Korea, Myanmar (until its recent transition to democracy), and Sudan (Stallings & Kim, 2016). Stallings and Kim (2016) note that In Latin America, "Venezuela and Argentina have counted on China when they could not obtain resources elsewhere" (2016, p. 126).

It should be noted that there is some question as to the degree to which this documented funding fits operational definitions of official development assistance. More direct comparative research needs to be done to consider the ways in which their approaches to development differ, contingent upon their own internal conditions and geopolitical positions, as well as the degree to which there is evidence to support a shared alternative development model, juxtaposed with a dominant "west to rest" approach.

Such multiple trajectories of foreign aid delivery have led some scholars to believe that different models of development aid are possible (Walz & Ramachandran, 2011). However, whether BRICS are able to sustain a shared, alternative approach with significantly different consequences remains an open question. Some foresee a truly alternative model of development that will decenter the hegemonic influence of Western conception of development embodied by the OECD DAC (Khanna, 2014). Others are less optimistic that the model of South-South cooperation will alter global relationships in any significant way, seeing the rise of these emerging powers as being "firmly located within the Western global hegemony" (See Gray & Murphy, 2013, p. 185). Nonetheless, both sides agree that emerging donors in South-South cooperation advocate for increased representation of non-Western nation states in principles and interests shaping the discourse of international development. Brazil's role as a "norm entrepreneur" exemplifies such effort to bring about an alternative dominant discourseof aid and development.

> Part of Brazil's discomfort with aligning with DAC members arises out of resistance to being pigeonholed into categories associated with Northern aid. Brazilian diplomats bristle at the suggestion that Brazil is an 'emerging donor' because they claim that the country is not a provider of aid but rather a solidarity partner in horizontal cooperation (Abdenur, 2014, p. 1883).

There are many debates about the differences in these different "models" of development in practice. However, what is certain is that, on a discursive level, they are used as different models to speak *about* the different models of giving aid. From this perspective, the co-existence and contestation of such different models of development is not as important for the recipient as is the donor of aid. The existence of these models suggests that there are different instruments through which nation states identify how they want to be perceived and positioned in the global affairs. It shows with whom or

what ideologies they seek to be aligned. In this way, the models may be considered as strategic narratives to shape the structure and politics in the global system.

2.2.2 SOUTH KOREA IN THE FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT

Being one of the newest members of DAC, Korea has sought to attain its status as a development donor through 1. Diversification of aid by sector and region; 2. Partaking in global aid and development cooperation fora; and 3. Creating a distinguished identity as a donor. Korea gives substantially less in foreign aid compared to other DAC members. In 2015, Korea provided US$ 1.9 billion in net ODA, ranking 14th in volume of aid and 24rd in ODA as percent of GNI (0.14 per cent) among national agencies (OECD, 2016). However, this amount is consistently rising. In the past five years South Korea's ODA investment has increased from US$ 1.3 billion in 2010 to US$ 1.8 billion in 2014. And from 2014 to 2015, the country increased its ODA by 8.3 percent.

Like its neighboring donor, Japan, Korea's foreign aid mostly benefits the region[6] (53 percent), although the proportion of aid allocated to Asia has decreased over the years. It maintains a strong tie with Vietnam. In 2015, South Korea targeted 15 percent of its bilateral funding to Vietnam, a sizable amount that is comparable to the combined bilateral aid of 20 percent allocated to the entire Sub-Saharan African region. The top five recipients of Korea's aid following Vietnam include Afghanistan, Tanzania, Cambodia, and Bangladesh. Although not counted as ODA[7], South Korea provides substantial amount of humanitarian aid to North Korea. Depending on the political orientation of its government, it has provided tens of millions of dollars per year. In 2014,

[6] In 2015, Korea gave 53 percent of its total ODA to Asia while Japan allocated 66 percent to Asian countries.

[7] Funds directed to North Korea are not reported to DAC as ODA (OECD, 2016) but are counted as domestic transactions (Stallings & Kim, 2016).

assistance to its northern counterpart was estimated at approximately USD 13.3 million (OECD, 2016). In 2017, the government gave 8 million USD worth of nutrition supplies for children and pregnant women in North Korea, channeled through multilateral agencies, UNICEF and UN World Food Program (McCurry, 2017). The country gives comparatively more to the poorest countries (38.1 %) than many of its bilateral peers (Japan gave 18.4 % to Least Developed Countries), and Korea's aid by sector diverges from that its neighboring donors, China and Japan in that its allocation is comparably more evenly distributed among education, health, and population (26 %), other social infrastructure (24 %), and economic infrastructure (30 %).

While there are some differences in sectors of investment, Korea's model of aid closely follows that of Japan's. As Stalling and Kim (2016) note, "although reluctant to admit," Korea's development trajectory is closely modeled after the experience of Japan in terms of development models (p. 130). Later, its aid program also assumed many of the characteristics pioneered by Japan. The connection is rooted in economic structures that were enforced upon during Japanese colonial rule, which carried over to post-liberation structure of its public institutions and policies including its aid apparatus. Korea's aid system is separated into grant agency (KOICA), an institutional arm of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), and a concessional loan agency (EDCF) located within the Korean Export–Import Bank, which was modeled after that of Japan[8].

Despite the comparably smaller volume of aid, South Korea has sought to amplify its voice and representation within the institutional framework of OECD DAC. For example, the country hosted the G20 2010 summit in Seoul from which the 'Seoul Development Consensus for Shared Growth' was generated, which was intended to

[8] Since 2008, Japan has undergone restructuring of its foreign aid in a more centralized form (Feasel, 2014).

replace the Washington Consensus (Marx & Soares, 2013). The following year in 2011, Korea hosted the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF4) in Busan, which resulted in the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation. Since its successful hosting of HLF4, Korea has taken part in various global post-2015 fora. The former Foreign Minister Sung Hwan Kim was one of the 27 members of the High Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post- 2015 Development Agenda. More recently, Korea hosted a Development Cooperation Forum High-Level Symposium in April 2015.

As one of the few successful aid stories, the Korean government has promoted its development experience as a "uniquely Korean model of development" (Watson, 2012) – one that is "evidence-based" and providing an alternative to the "theory-oriented policy recommendations from advanced countries" (Korea Development Institute, 2014, p. 7). The Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) is an embodiment of such initiative. Launched in 2011, this program is run jointly by the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, social and economic development think tank, Korea Development Institute (KDI), and Export-Import Bank of Korea, which is responsible for overseas concessional load. Doucette and Müller (2016) examine KSP's activities to 'modularize' Korea's community reform movement in the 1970s, Saemaul Undong (translated as New Village Movement). Saumaul Undong, an authoritarian-era run rural modernization program from the 1970s, has undergone aggressive promotion by Korea. For example, Korea provided USD 5.1 million to launch a four-year project with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) under the name, *Saemaul Initiative Towards Inclusive and Sustainable New Communities project* (UNDP, 2013).

In taking an active part in international discussions of foreign aid and packaging its previous experience as a model of development that recipients might follow, For

Korea, its accession to DAC was recognized as an evidence of its "arrival" on the global stage (Stallings & Kim, 2016, p. 122).

Korea's development aid has been approached as an instrument of foreign policy and diplomatic relations at the level of the nation state, but very little has been done from the vantage point of development aid as a form of strategic communication toward domestic and foreign publics. Scholars are only beginning to recognize the role of development cooperation as a form of public communication. For example, Sook Jong Lee discusses in passing the role of KOICA's foreign aid programs as comprising Korea's public diplomacy (Lee, 2015, p. 123). This current lack of studies that integrate development aid with communication is an oversight, given that for example, a substantial portion of KOICA's annual budget goes to its volunteer program, World Friends Korea. Amounting close to 20 percent (KOICA, 2017a), this proportion indicates the importance of communicating with both the domestic public through its citizen participatory program and to foreign audiences about the work that Korea is doing as a donor country (personal interview, 2018).

2.2.2.1 World Friends Korea: Government-Sponsored International Development Volunteer Program

Korea's government-sponsored international development volunteer program was established in 1989. Since then, more than 60,000 Koreans have served in 96 countries across Asia (24 countries), Africa (33 countries), Latin America (19 countries), Eastern Europe (13 countries), and the Middle East (6 countries; World Friends Operation Team, 2017). Volunteers take part in education, healthcare and medicine, information technology, public affairs, agriculture, industrial energy, and environment sectors. A large majority of the volunteers are involved in the education sector, instructing host

nationals in the areas of Korean language and culture, arts, Taekwondo, and information technology.

In addition to their primary assignment, many volunteers are involved in a secondary project during their two-year service. Secondary projects encompass cosmetic refurbishing of buildings, expanding infrastructure and developing educational content such as storybooks and textbooks (KOICA World Friends Team, 2018). WFK volunteers also implement health campaigns to promote awareness of personal hygiene and sexual health, and provide medical check-ups together with Korean nurses and doctors volunteering in neighboring cities.

In 2009, Korea's volunteer program was institutionalized as a public diplomacy and nation branding initiative when it was selected, along with King Sejong Institute and other national heritage projects, as a means to enhance the country's cultural attractiveness (Hong, 2014). The Presidential Council of Nation Branding (PCNB), an institutional body that oversaw nation branding programs, consolidated seven different volunteer service programs that were operated by different ministries under one umbrella brand called World Friends Korea (WFK). This move was motivated by a number of different factors: First, it sought to consolidate a highly fragmented structure of international development volunteer program, which was operated independently by different ministries (see Appendix 1). In so doing, it sought for more efficient management of funds, standardized volunteer training, and most importantly, the Council attempted to create a stronger international presence by consolidating the total number of volunteers sent abroad by the different ministries (personal interview, 2018). When fragmented, the number of volunteers seem small, but when added up, the total size of the program is rather formidable, coming second or third among government-sponsored international development volunteer programs, after the U.S. Peace Corps and Japan

Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV), depending on year. As such, a consolidated brand was seen to create stronger representation.

Within the geography of international aid, what makes volunteers unique is their positionality that rests somewhere in between promoting foreign policy goals of the government on one end and building cross-cultural and mutual relationship on the other (Schech, 2016). Korea's volunteer program reflects the broader tendency among government-sponsored volunteer programs to be instrumentalized for foreign policy interests and subjected to neoliberal management structures of the governments that fund them (Georgeou & Engel, 2011). Since being identified as a brand, WFK has come to be recognized in instrumental terms to enhance the country's cultural attractiveness (Presidential Council of Nation Branding, 2013).

2.3 Development as a Field of Discursive Practices

Discourse refers to a way of speaking about and understanding the world around us (Foucault, 2013). It provides us with a set of interpretive tools that are used to make sense out of things and our own experiences, as well as how we act on the basis of that thinking. According to Foucault, discourses are articulated through "dispersed elements," such as specialized forms of knowledge, institutions, subjects, and practices. These dispersed elements are said to come together in certain rules of formation to produce systems of thought ("epistemes") and knowledge ("discursive formations") (2013). In that people are "disciplined" or internalized to embody such systems of thought, discourse produces permissible modes of being and thinking while disqualifying and even making others impossible.

For critical development scholars, Foucault's use of discourse in the representation of social reality was influential in guiding an understanding development

as producing socially constructed reality from which particular sets of logics and understandings guiding social relations emerged (Escobar, 1984; Ferguson, 1990; Li, 2007). The discursive space was interrogated from a critical distance to question who produces the knowledge and ways of acting upon constructions such as the "Third World," as well as their origins. Historicizing development, Escobar argued that poverty was a "discovery" of the newly established institutional apparatus such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the United Nations (UN), following post-World War II. (Escobar, 1995). Its problematization, supported by various authoritative measurements, gave the U.S.-led intervention only logical, and interventions in education, health, hygiene, and morality, among others, "turned the poor as objects of knowledge and management" (Escobar, 1995, p. 23). Tanya Li's (2007) historical interrogation of development intervention in Indonesia foregrounded such politics of knowledge. Li (2007) suggests that development histories have been "rendered technical" into a legible narrative of development. The concept of 'rendering technical' has been applied to critically examine recent efforts by the Korean government to export its development experience by "modularizing" Saemaul Undong, a rural reform movement in Korea, through its Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP; Doucette & Müller, 2016). The authors state that the spiritual, voluntary, and value-oriented nature of the movement has been used to 'render technical' the "complex and contested Korean development experiences in a series of elite-driven, technical interventions, a move that allows it to travel within international policy circuits as a distinct 'model'" (2016, p. 31).

While Foucault sees power operating by disciplinary mechanisms that individuals internalize and embody, it does not account for the ways in which different conditions constrain but also enable actors to contest the dominant regimes of representation. The multi-polar structure of development aid and its multi-directional flow of resources show

that the dominant paradigm of development co-exists and contends for power with other emerging models of development. Here, I find Gramsci's concept of hegemony (1971) to be useful as a theoretical guiding lens. Both Foucault and Gramsci foreground power in their analysis and share an understanding of power in terms of acquiescence rather than coercion. However, Foucault sees power as being diffused in social relationships and disciplinary in practice, while Gramsci's understanding of power lies in binary relations of dominance and subordination. Referring to such relations as hegemony, Gramsci states that hegemony works as a way of gaining and maintaining power through consent (1971). Consent is produced through the "inter-articulating, mutually reinforcing process of ideological influence" (Lull, 1995, p. 34). However, unlike Foucault, Gramsci saw the ideology producing institutions in constant struggle over meaning and power (1971).

Drawing on Gramsci's idea of hegemony, Pieterse states that development is a terrain of struggle in that each development theory can be seen to articulate political interests and priorities (2010). As such, Pieterse understands the field of development as "a terrain of hegemony and counter-hegemony," (Pieterse, 2010, p. 9) consisting of "many stakeholders and multiple centers of power and influence (Pieterse, 2010, pp. 9-10). Taking the two theoretical concepts of discourse and hegemony, I understand development as a field of discursive practices that operates through representational regimes as well as ongoing of contestation and negotiation by actors concerned. Next, I consider communication in development.

2.4. Development Communication

Development communication, also known as communication for development (Servaes, 1999, 2008) or communication for social change (Grumcio-Dagron & Tufte, 2006), refers to "strategic application of communication technologies and processes to

promote social change," oftentimes "funded through wealthy agencies and implemented in nation-states with comparably fewer financial resources" (Wilkins, 2000, p. 197). While the origin of the field is traced to post-World War II research on the mass media's effect on experiences of modernity or market-based liberal democracy in Third World countries (McAnany, 2012; Shah, 2011), over time, critical approaches to development communication have called attention to issues of implicit power relations at play in the development landscape (Wilkins, 2000). In this section, I discuss how culture comes into play, how it is manifested as emerging donors seek to project their competitiveness in the global sphere. I refer to existing literature that address how culture is 'put into' development discourse.

2.4.1. DOMINANT PARADIGM OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

Development communication as a practice and academic discipline emerged from early media studies research in the United States in post-WWII period. Media studies scholarship in the United States was influenced by cognitive and behavioral psychology that was carried over to media studies in the form of effects, such as persuasion, public opinion, and attitude change. Early scholarship in development communication conceived media as a neutral tool to facilitate U.S.-led move toward modernization of Third World countries. A legacy in development communication studies, *The passing of Traditional Society* by Daniel Lerner (1958) well illustrates the set of assumptions and logics that came to be known as the dominant paradigm of development communication. In the book, Lerner claims that U.S.-led Western values and ideas spread by mass media could help transform the Middle East from traditional to modern forms of social, economic, and political entities. Lerner juxtaposes tradition and modern through a parable of Turkish village grocer and chief. The chief of Balgat is depicted as a parochial

character and whose wisdom and loyalty lies within the village. On the other hand, the grocer is open to things foreign, is able to think outside the confines of the village. and more interested in national than local issues. As exemplified by these two characters, Lerner categorized people in the Middle East into traditional, transitional, and modern based on their degree of empathy or "psychic mobility."

In his critique of the *Passing of Traditional Society*, Hemant Shah (2011) situates the study in three contexts: Cold War geopolitics, the emergence of behavioral sciences, and post-war racial liberalism. The geopolitical interest of the U.S. government during the Cold War heightened investment in media effects research, mainly propaganda research in the government's effort to "win hearts and minds" from Soviet influence in strategic regions around the world (McAnany, 2012). Development was closely associated with modernization, which was used to thwart the spread of communism in Third World Countries. Modernization as a form of social change was possible by embracing Western manufacturing technology, political structures, and values. Such dichotomized understanding of modern vs. tradition underscores a linear and hierarchical path of development, a reasoning that was supported by many other scholars of development during this time (Pye, 1963; Schramm, 1963). In this transition, Lerner points to the intervening role of the media as a "mass multiplier": Being exposed to the media develops individuals' potential for empathy and hence their motivation to embrace and embody modern ways of being (Lerner, 1958). As Lerner's study illustrates, media was seen to provoke attitude and behavior change, which in turn, leads to societal change. As such, the dominant paradigm of development communication privileged individual behavior change as a unit of social change.

Looking deeper into Lerner's logic of development is that the Middle East needs to emulate the values, lifestyles, and political organization of the U.S. The question of

race is inherent here. Racial liberalism, Shah (2011) argues, is one of the main ideas behind Lerner's theory of modernization. Lerner refused the biological argument for Western "superiority" and argued that the West is only culturally superior to the rest, and that underdeveloped nations could become modern if they took the right steps toward modernization. As such, the existence of "Chiefs of Balgat" throughout Third World countries justified the West's intervention, at the same time, promoting American exceptionalism.

Despite much criticism toward early studies on development communication, the dominant approach to development communication remains relevant up to the contemporary period (Shah, 2010). For example, in a meta-analysis of communication and development studies in Asia, Wei (1998) asserts that the 1990s have seen an abundance of research on "new" communication technology and development undergirded by "old" ideas about modernization and mass media (1998). This trend is also confirmed by Ogan and colleagues (2009) who state that studies on development communication "continued to embrace a modernization paradigm despite its many criticisms" (p. 655).

2.4.2. Critical Approach to Development Communication

Critical perspectives to development communication examine communication and social change in terms of the ways in which structures, ideologies, and power shape communication for and about development (Wilkins & Mody, 2001). Karin Wilkins noted that communication in development should not only consider its instrumental role but also account for the greater power structure in which the communication channel serves as a resource. In this regard, Wilkins distinguished communication *for* development and communication *about* development, where communicating *about*

development engages in "critical approach to understanding the ways in which development approaches communicate assumptions about strategic social change" (Wilkins & Mody, 2001). Communication about development foregrounds the discursive aspect of power as a "capacity to shape the context in which problems and solutions are determined" (Wilkins 2000, p. 198). How substantive issues become articulated as problems and potential solutions are identified is shaped according to the interests and motivations of those in positions of power.

Critical scholars of development communication point out that knowledge is political. It is political because knowledge guides conceptualization of issues of development such as poverty, health, and gender equality. Knowledge is also used to represent not only issues but also groups of people, depriving them of self-representation. Such representations are used to define problems, beneficiaries, and solutions, from which resources are allocated accordingly to programs addressing such issues. In that way, knowledge is equivalent to power (Dutta, 2011). Interrogating family planning intervention programs in Korea during the 1960s and 70s, Eunjoo Cho (2013) suggests that population control was pivotal to internalization of the West as modern, civilized, and representing progress, while Korea, particularly its practice of giving multiple births while impoverished was perceived as pre-modern, barbaric, and irresponsible. Cho (2013) exposes how such binary formations were imposed on the rural population by Korea's urban intellectuals who invoked "internalization of shame" as a form of self-discipline towards having many children, which served as a basis from which to civilize oneself (E. Cho, 2013).

Internalization of western-imposed frames of knowledge intersects with Foucault's notion of discipline (1995), both demonstrating the ways in which certain ways of thinking and doing become accepted as the norm, or hegemonic over time. The

binary formations and internalization of shame, self-perception in terms of lack, enforces the western gaze upon the native as a form of constant self-discipline.

In *Black skin, white masks*, Frantz Fanon (1986) engages in explicating the logic of internalization. Fanon (1986) points out that the process of internalization is not only a political but a psychological process undergirding constant self-consciousness through the gaze of the west. Fanon describes this as neurotic behavior, emphasizing as follows.

> [the black man] is constantly pre-occupied with self-evaluation and with the ego-ideal…The Antilleans have no inherent values of their own, they are always contingent on the presence of The Other. The question is always whether he is less intelligent than I, blacker than I, less respectable than I." (Fanon, 1986, pp. 163-164).

The constant self-evaluation from the Eurocentric frame of reference, according to Fanon, in turn, fosters intra-group rivalries among the blacks, where The Antilles blacks perceived themselves to being closer to the white Europeans and more civilized than African blacks (Fanon, 1986).

Sangbok Ha (2012) suggests parallels in Fanon's formulation of the inferiority complex and internalized white superiority in contemporary Korean society. Ha (2012) discusses Korea's racism and xenophobia toward people of darker skin to the internalization of white superiority coupled with the myth of pure-bloodism in Korea which was deployed by intellectual elites as an ideological tool to reconstruct Korea following the devastation of Japanese occupation and the Korean War. However, Ha (2012) suggests that Korea's case is distinct from the case of the black and white relations. For Korea, while Japan was an object of resistance, it simultaneously served as a model to aspire to become for Koreans in terms of being more civilized. In this respect, the relationship between Japan and Korea was solidified to one that consisted of second-class race but still more civilized than other yellow-skinned or black race (Ha, 2012). The

historically-constructed hierarchical rank ordering of race in Korea is the outcome of Korea's Japanese colonization, U.S. imperialism, and the ideology of pure-bloodism spread by Korea's ruling elites.

Such studies on internalization point towards how intervention programs that are implemented in the name of liberation of the recipients may work to sustain "coloniality of being and knowledge" through constant self-consciousness of political, psychological, and material inferiority imposed onto themselves. Critical development studies have been concerned with representations of aid recipients (Harrison, 2013; Orgad & Seu, 2014; Wilkins, 2016). These studies have brought to the fore assumptions about recipients of aid and their lack of the means to articulate their voices that continue to marginalize their existence. More attention is given to communication for development at the recipient end (Waisbord, 2008). On the other hand, much less research has examined how donors seek to position and represent themselves through overseas development. In the current international landscape that privileges the promotional practices of branding as a tool of governance and identity politics, critical studies in development communication has begun to integrate not only communication about development but how donors publicize and promote their "do good-ing" as a tool of legitimacy and articulating a competitive national identity (Enghel & Noske-Turner, 2018).

Globalization in the current era is defined and driven by the logic of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism posits that "human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial practices and freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). The primary organizing framework of neoliberal development is marked by privatization of aid (Chakravartty, 2009; Enghel & Wilkins, 2012). The rise of "philanthrocapitalism" is met with concerns in terms of its reliance on

market mechanisms, playing by the rules of the existing neoliberal system (Edwards, 2009; Youde, 2009). They tend to focus on individual empowerment goals that emphasize entrepreneurship in market economies as an approach to social change (Enghel & Wilkins, 2012). The cause and solution of human suffering is overly simplified, promoting "slactivist" or armchair modes of participation from the public that ranges anywhere between clicking a button on the computer screen in support of an image or consumption of material goods (Richey & Ponte, 2011). Critical work in development reveals how such passive forms of action that privilege consumption of images and corporate products mask structural issues, collective action, and social justice (Richey & Ponte, 2011).

Referring to the "marketing and stakeholder communication so intrinsic to contemporary development practice," James Pamment (2016, p. 9) suggests that we need to consider communication *of* development as an additional layer to communication *for* and *about* development. His point has much relevance in an era where countries are discussed and presented in ways equivalent to private corporations.

2.5. National Identity in Transition

In 2001, an article was published on *Foreign Affairs* (), entitled "The Rise of the Brand State: The Postmodern Politics of Image and Reputation." In the post-Cold War context, it claimed, international peace is sustained by the logic of the market: As contenders in the global economy, nation-states have shed traces of "nationalist chauvinism" that tend to be associated with "antagonism" (Van Ham, 2001, para. 5). Instead, nation states are turning themselves into brand states, employing "assertive branding techniques" to enhance visibility and attractiveness. According to its author,

Peter Van Ham, “smart states are building their brands around reputations and attitudes in the same way smart companies do” (2001, pp. 3-4).

Nation branding is a social process by which discourses and practices of nationhood are reconstituted following marketing and branding paradigms (Kaneva, 2011). As a set of practices, nation branding involves strategic management (i.e. planning, monitoring, and evaluation) of a nation’s image to stand out in the global marketplace of competing nation states. Branding consultant Simon Anholt states that nation states will need to focus on competing with each other for their “share of the world’s consumers, tourists, investors, students, entrepreneurs, international sporting and cultural events; and for the attention and respect of the international media, of other governments, and the people of other countries” (2007, p. 72)

Broadly, research on nation branding is categorized into techno-economic, political, and cultural approaches (Kaneva, 2011). Techno-economic approaches adopt functionalist and instrumentalist perspectives that seek to further develop models and measurement tools of nation branding to be employed in more tactical and strategic ways. Political approaches are concerned with the conceptual intersections between nation branding and public diplomacy, seeking to situate nation branding within the field of international relations, particularly under the soft power principle. Finally, cultural approaches focus on critique of nation branding informed by theories of national identity, culture, and governance. Studies taking a cultural approach emphasize the importance of examining the political implications of nation branding through contextualization of nation branding, exposing their connections to relations of social power. This section of the literature review further elaborates on research that take a cultural approach, focusing on themes of commodification, social justice, and governance.

2.5.1. COMMODIFICATION OF CULTURE

Nation branding is a manifestation of what George Yúdice (2003) refers to as "culture as a resource," in which "culture is increasingly wielded as a resource for both sociopolitical and economic amelioration" (p. 9). This includes public goods being employed as a symbolic resource by which to perpetuate the national legitimacy. Yúdice reconceptualizes culture from a critical political economic perspective – as a capital generating resource whose appropriation and distribution is related to power.

Commodification is "the process of transforming things valued for their use into marketable products that are valued for what they can bring in exchange" (Mosco, 2009, p. 127). Commodification of culture is not new; the process has been documented even before the terminology formally existed (see Strasser, 2013). Artworks by Picasso, French wine, and cities like Rome and New York attract great economic advantages because of their collective symbolic capital (Harvey, 2001). However, it is the extent to which culture as policy, practice, and discourse is subsumed within the market logic, deliberately managed as a resource for its capital generating potential and as a "critical sphere for investment" by both nation states and global institutions is new (Yúdice, 2003).

Branding consultants typically depict national identity and culture as 'fixed assets' (e.g. Anholt, 2008, p. 34) to be deployed in gaining economic and status benefits. Such vocabulary is also adopted by policymakers and political leaders: The term "Korea discount"[9] in contrast to "Korea premium" is propounded by PCNB to explain why

[9] The term Korea discount refers to the devaluation of Korean stocks, attributed to factors such as geopolitical instability, corruption, amount of household debt, and Chaebol-led structure of Korea's business market. However, it was brand consultants including Keith Dinnie (2009), who directly linked this

Korea needs to put more time and effort to build a stronger nation brand (Korea Brand, 2009). Culture became increasingly sought after by local and national governments as resource to be effectively managed. 'Hip' and 'cool'-ness of locales came to be associated with innovativeness and economic output (Florida, 2005).

According to Mosco, "Communication is taken to be a special and particularly powerful commodity because, in addition to its ability to produce surplus value … it contains symbols and images whose meaning helps to shape consciousness" (2009, p. 134). The Korean government's support for broadcast television dramas and popular music through its Hallyu (or Korean Wave) policy over the much more lucrative game industries is a case in point. Korea incorporated national image-making as a political agenda shortly after the financial crisis in 1997 to increase export in cultural industries. According to K. Hong, "it was an open secret that most of the revenue from cultural exports was generated by the games industry rather than the so-called Korean Wave industries." (Hong, 2013, p. 74)[10]. Nevertheless, broadcast content and popular music industries were seen as effective carriers of the country's cultural image and Korean way of life. The government's support of the television dramas and popular music shows that nation branding is not only driven by an economic logic, but also by an ideological one. Furthermore, the symbolic components depicted in the dramas and popular music produced surplus value through inbound tourism revenues among international fans who

---

term to the country-of-origin effect, claiming that the "Made in Korea" label carries less prestige than other countries of origin, such as "Made in Japan," and a result, Korean producers cannot enjoy the same price premium for the same quality goods. Dinnie (2009) pointed to the need for concerted effort in nation branding to turn the Korea discount around to Korea premium. This term has since then become commonly invoked in public discourse.

[10] According to Hong (2014), television dramas and popular music accounted for 11 percent of the revenue for the overseas sales of Korea's cultural industries. The top three revenue came from the game industry, character industry, and publishing industry, none of which were incorporated into the Korean Wave discourse.

wanted to experience the Korean culture first hand, to attend concerts and fan meetings with their favorite celebrities (Garcia, 2017; Irani, 2017; H. J. Kim, Chen, & Su, 2009).

Many critical studies in nation branding have analyzed how media texts produce nation branding discourse and its implications for both domestic and international audiences. Examining images of nation branding, studies suggest the notion of diverse nations co-existing in marketplace is in the form of "global cultural stereotyping" (Jansen, 2008, p. 133). Looking at television programs, scholars have exposed how developing countries and non-Western countries have resorted to reproducing orientalist imagery that lives up to the desires of international consumers (Baker, 2008; Widler, 2007). In Korea, as television dramas are increasingly being produced for the international market, historical television dramas are being stripped of historical complexities that might stir conflict and being retold with appealing aesthetics in ways that are easily consumable and appealing to the international audiences (K. S. Lee & Kang, 2016).

The irony here is that nations are encouraged to promote their cultural elements and to assert authenticity and uniqueness, and therefore achieve what David Harvey refers to as "monopoly rent" (Harvey, 2001). But at the same time, cultural elements need to be worked into market logic and to appeal to international audiences, leading to inherent contradictions, such that "bland homogeneity that goes with pure commodification erases monopoly advantages" (Harvey, 2001, p. 396). As such, place branding appeal to a similar note of affect and emotions, as reflected in logos such as "100% Pure New Zealand" and "Pure Michigan"; "Cool Britannia" and "Cool Japan"; "Incredible India" and "Incredinburgh"; "I feel S*love*nia" and "I 'heart' NY."

2.5.2. "BRAND NEW JUSTICE"? BRANDING FOR DEVELOPMENT

In his book, cleverly and ambitiously entitled "Brand new justice: How branding places and products can help the developing world," Simon Anholt (2005) argues that the problem of underdevelopment is due to the lack of tools at the disposal of the developing world with which to brand their goods and the nation states. Rather, Anholt claims that humanitarian aid and development programs from developed world that depict the developing world as fraught with poverty, violence, and instability, make it fit for charity but not for investment (Anholt, 2005). The solution offered is for the developing world to take control of its own image, by engaging in its own representational tactics. For weaker nation states, nation branding enhances their capacities to compete on equal terms with more powerful nation states. Based on reasoning that symbolic capital is easily transferred to economic capital through tourism and foreign direct investment, nation branding is said to serve as a tool of "technology leap" (Anholt, 2003, p. 42). In turn, branding brings the world closer to enacting social justice by combining capitalism with humanism.

Engaging in a critique of nation branding as an instrument of global justice, Browning (2016) raises the question, what is the understanding of development premised in these claims? Browning (2016) brings to attention that nation branding ultimately upholds the status quo promoting capitalist notions of neoliberal market economics, rather than to bring to light structural inequalities. Sue Curry Jansen (2008) offers similar criticism, stating that claims of nation branding for development embraces the "language and assumptions of modernization theory" (2008, p. 133). There are strong parallels to nation branding for development and modernization theory. The source of the problem is attributed to individual nation states, rather than the global structure of production, ownership, and distribution. Just as exposure to media was claimed to bring about a

modern way of life, nation branding is seen by its proponents as the magic bullet to attract investors and bring about development. However, taking the example of the World Cup in South Africa, Browning draws on Alegi (2008) to point out that such international events benefit mostly the big businesses, large construction firms, and already prosperous locations in the country, while it neither enhanced the political or economic situation for the majority of South Africans and in much needed areas. Such a commodified and linear conception of development provides an overarching understanding of development from a framework of nation branding.

Furthermore, referring to how South Korea's foreign aid policy may be co-opted in debates over nation branding, Browning (2016) emphasizes that "nation branding entails inherently hierarchical and exclusionary modes of governance." For Korea, foreign aid is strategized as symbol of status and prestige (Kapoor, 2013, pp. 64-65). This is also evident in Hong's observation that the PCNB referred to its ODA program as an "expansion of the economic Korean Wave." Aligning its bilateral development program with cultural export directs focus of ODA away from its substance to its economic benefit for Korea. As such, Browning (2016) suggests that "nation branding strategies are actually premised on the preservation of structural inequalities between donor and recipient nations" (p. 67)

2.5.3. NATION BRANDING AND CITIZENSHIP: BRAND NATIONALISM

Reflecting on the relationship of media and national identity, Volcic and Andrejevic (2011) explain the trajectory of national identity amidst neoliberal globalization marked by a decline in public service and state-supported broadcasting. The authors note that the state has responded to such shifts in the ideological apparatus by

turning to marketing professionals or seeking partnerships with private-sector broadcasters. In a country like South Korea whose government maintains considerable influence in the cultural sector, the government has supported commercial broadcasters in their efforts to commodify local identity to carve out a distinctive identity for increasingly scarce "attention economy" of audiences who seek a culturally unique but at the same time, palatable content (Jin, 2014).

Commercial brands rely on consumption and production practices of consumers by passing on information through which shared meanings are forged, and by enacting brand identity (Arvidsson, 2005). Nation branding is also both dependent on monitoring and mobilizing its citizens to identify with and to "live the brand" (Volcic & Andrejevic, 2011). As such, a successful nation branding is said to foster a stronger sense of national identity and social solidarity among national constituents. In that nation branding enforces social order not through coercion but through disciplinary measures (structuring movements and understandings of people), nation branding becomes amenable to Foucault's notion of governmentality (Lemke, 2016).

Christensen's study (2013) on Sweden's branding activities through Twitter lucidly illustrates the mediated nature of branding and the role of communication technologies. The author identifies the restrictive nature in which Sweden's branding practitioners engage in monitoring and control process as they engage in a narrow selection process of participants and by implicitly enforcing self-censorship by setting an agenda of what is wanted. Christensen's study shows the way in which the values commonly associated with the Internet and social networking platforms as being transparent, open, and democratic, are easily appropriated by the practitioners of branding to amplify the value of the nation state. Based on his findings, he presents an expanded use of the term "technological nationalism" (p. 43) to go beyond the traditional notion of

media as purveyor of national identity. Instead, using Twitter to engage citizens in a branding process, according to Christensen, becomes noteworthy not for the content of the individual tweets but for the "meta-message" of transparency, flexibility, innovativeness and openness as representing the national image. Christensen's study on the mediated nature of nation branding raises questions about the role that communications technologies play in nation branding as a discursive practice that has yet to be rigorously addressed by critical scholars.

As studies show, nation branding is less concerned with promotion of participatory democracy and respect for multiplicity of voice than with the creation of stable and secure environment for capital investment. In this perspective, Browning's (2016) claim that nation branding entails inherently hierarchical and exclusionary modes of governance extends to governance of its own citizens. Iwabuchi's (2013) also points out that while Japan has proactively sought to enhance its national image to the international audience, its exclusionary domestic practices that marginalizes ethnic minorities in the country stands in sharp contrast to this narrative. Under nation branding there leaves very little room for co-existence of multiplicity of voices and cultural identities.

The nature of nationalism has been defined along the lines of identification with such state-marketed commodification of both tangible and intangible cultural, economic, and political aspects that the national elites (guided by international marketing consultants) perceive to be competitive advantage of the nation. Terms such as commercial nationalism (Volcic & Andrejevic, 2016a), brand nationalism (Iwabuchi, 2015) and global nationalism (Sklair, 1997) intersect in this aspect. Patriotic emotional ideas are combined with marketing goals of the country where nationalism is directly reflected as marketing success and economic profit (Volcic & Andrejevic, 2016). In this

vein, citizenship is displaced as consumerism (Volcic & Andrejevic, 2016), and those groups of people who are perceived to be detrimental to the nation's marketability are further marginalized and oppressed (Kaneva & Popescu, 2014).

A second thread of argument commonly made through these terms is the relationship between the national and the global. According to Sklair (1997), global nationalism is "characterized as the view that the best interests of the country lie in its rapid integration with the global capitalist system while maintaining its national identity by marketing national competitive advantages of various types through its own global brands and tourism" (Sklair, 1997, p. 528). Sklair's conception of global nationalism understands the global as being constituted by a marketplace where nation states exist alongside one another. Looking at cross-border movement of people and media culture, Iwabuchi (2015) uses the terms banal internationalism and brand nationalism to demonstrate how intensified cross-border flows of people and media reinforces, not displace, national cultural borders. Banal internationalism refers to nation-based cultural diversity that ignores difference within the nation and brand nationalism, the development of cultural policies to advance narrow international interests work together to create a global imaginary where cultural boundaries are demarcated within global market. Despite the mundaneness of boundary crossing, these studies suggest that nation branding has further distanced the understanding of globalization as cosmopolitanism.

2.5.4. Development and Cultural Narrative

Within the development industry, culture is discussed in two ways, distinguished based on whether we are speaking about culture as belonging to the donor or the beneficiary: First, culture of the beneficiary is defined as a bounded management tool that

can be deployed to do development better (Li, 2011). As such, it is understood as necessary and promising area of investment. The Expedience of Culture, Yúdice (2003) emphasizes how supranational development organizations such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and major international foundations have contributed to such understanding of the notion of culture. Yúdice refers to the keynote address of former president of the World Bank, James D. Wolfensohn, who states: "There are development dimensions of culture. Physical and expressive culture is an undervalued resource in developing countries. It can earn income, through tourism, crafts, and other cultural enterprises" (World Bank, 1999, p. 11) and "Heritage gives value. Part of our joint challenge is to analyze the local and national returns on investments which restore and draw value from cultural heritage—whether it is built or living cultural expression, such as indigenous music, theater, crafts" (World Bank, 1999, p. 13, cited in Yudice, p. 13).

The second way in which the field of development understands culture is from the donor's perspective. Studies have illustrated the ways in which the U.S. Peace Corps volunteers instrumentalize the idea of Western superiority in their relationships with the host (Cobbs-Hoffman, 1998; Fischer, 1998; Hanchey, 2015). While not representative of all development actors, international volunteers are seen as reinforcing such dominant imaginaries of development. In her study of Australian volunteers, Nicole Georgeou (2012) finds that the host tends to embrace the notion of the Westerner as a development actor, which encapsulates assumptions of white masculinity as a marker of authority (Georgeou 2012). In such ways, scholars have pointed to the persistence of colonial and imperialistic power dynamics in volunteer–host relations (Grusky 2000; McBride and Draftary 2005) which are shaped by multiple aspects of representation.

As emerging donors push alternative paradigms of development cooperation, donors strategically project a cultural narrative in their transnational encounters. In referring to Asian donors' tendency to draw on cultural justification in their development cooperation, Chika Watanabe (2018) uses the concept of "instrumental culturalism." The concept closely echoes Yúdice's culture as a resource claim in that both seek to illustrate the logic of appropriating culture to serve political interests.

However, Watanabe (2018) goes beyond Yudice's claim when the author identifies the implications of instrumental culturalism employed by emerging donors – essentializes culture as bounded to a particular group of people, timeless, and uncontested. Watanabe shows how Asian donors frequently employ the narrative of "common culture" or common roots in their justification for aid. Second, she draws on the concept of orientalism (Said, 1978) to argue that by objectifying one's own cultural uniqueness leads to "self-orientalization" as a way to use it to advance certain political and economic ends. The culturalist views obscure political intentions and in attributing certain tendencies to culture, it curtails possibility of public debate (2018).

Watanabe and Yudice's conceptualizations demonstrate how culture becomes an instrument of Foucault's notion of governmentality. As Pieterse (2010) puts forth, communication and development

> may offer relief from development steeped in Eurocentrism, occidental narcissism or trilateralist arrogance, but the remedy against the chauvisim of 'great traditions' is not to adopt the inverse missionary position and the chauvinism of 'little tradition'... [Communication and development] is not simply a matter of including culture but also of interrogating culture as a terrain of power, culture as ideology" (p. 77).

Building on this scholarship, I explore how development becomes appropriated as cultural resource to be worked into nation branding policy as a part of nation-building agenda in the age of globalization.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to better understand how development aid is envisioned, understood, and employed by donor nation states in articulating desired national identity. I look at this process as historically and socially contingent and involving different actors, each driven by their own set of interests. Specifically, I focus on the emergence of former Third World countries that have transitioned from recipients to providers of aid. As these countries are actively partaking in global development, are they re-shaping the knowledge structures that shape the understanding and practice of development?

Grounded in critical studies of development communication, I understand development to be a field of discursive practice, run by a set of specialized knowledge, institutions, and practices. Like many former Third World countries, in Korea, development has long constituted a primary nation building strategy, legitimizing the nation state while producing developmental subjects defined by its obligation to capital accumulation. While the country is now actively promoting its development aid overseas, development continues to serve an ongoing national project. By interrogating Korea's discursive practice of development through historical contextualization, representational strategies, and practice, this study seeks to unravel how an emerging development actor situates in, negotiates, and complicates the dominant discursive practice of development.

3.2. Research Questions

The overarching question guiding this study is, can the so-called South-South development cooperation subvert the dominant paradigm of development? I approach this question deductively, situating Korea's development discourse and practice within the global context (chapter 4), and then looking at how the structural conditions influence

how development is imagined (chapter 5) and practiced on the ground (chapter 6). While the overarching question was formulated based on theoretical discussions in concerned fields of study, the research questions stated below are outcomes of reformulation and refinement based on cycles of deductive and inductive observation of academic literature and data. In the field of development, this process is the more essential as the field is oftentimes criticized for its disconnect from the actual practice (Enghel & Noske-Turner, 2018). The set of questions posed below provide an analytical framework for understanding how global conditions of power relations shape an emerging donor's engagement in development.

RQ1. How is the notion of development articulated by Korea's popular press?
- RQ1a. How does this vary over time?
- RQ1b. How do the ideas associated with development serve as a nation building strategy?
- RQ1c. How does this relate to the global development discourse?

RQ2. How are understandings about citizenship articulated by Korea's popular press?
- RQ2a. How are citizens defined?
- RQ2b. What roles and responsibilities are they associated with?
- RQ2c. How are citizens mobilized to engage in nation building?

RQ3. How does the international development volunteer program serve Korea's development strategies?

RQ4. What visual images are used to inform Koreans about KOICA's development aid abroad?
- RQ4a. How do the visual images come about?
- RQ4b. What visual imagery of the volunteer program's development work is presented?

RQ5. What do the visual images say about KOICA's role as a humanitarian agency?
- RQ5a. What volunteer-host activities do the photos depict?
- RQ5b. Who is present in the photos?
- RQ5c. What setting is represented in the photos?

RQ6. How do the visual images convey about Korea as a country?

RQ6a. What kinds of images are associated with Korea?
RQ6b. What kinds of images are associated with the host?

RQ7. How do volunteers in Korea's international development volunteer program articulate their role as development actors?
RQ7a. How are they trained to prepare for their volunteer work?
RQ7b. What kinds of volunteer-related work do they volunteers undertake on ground?

RQ8. How do volunteers understand their encounters in the host country?
RQ8a. What frames of reference do volunteers draw on to make sense of their encounters?
RQ8b. How do the frames of reference relate to how the volunteers navigate their everyday encounters?

In order to explore Korea's engagement in development from a communication perspective, I divide my analytical framework into communication *about* development, communication *of* development, and development communication as practice. RQ1 and RQ2 question how the hegemonic understanding of development in Korea has come to be. In order to address RQ1, I conduct a discourse analysis of news coverage on three keywords, *geundaehwa* (modernization), *segyehwa* (globalization), and *seonjinhwa* (making advanced), which constitute strategic terms used in Korean national policymaking from 1960 to 2013. I draw on news coverage of the three keywords from the beginning of 1960 to the end of 2013 in three newspapers, *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, *Dong-A Ilbo*, and *Maeil Business Newspaper*. These three newspapers were chosen because they have been in operation since 1960, and they provide a balance in political orientation: *Kyunghyang Shinmun* is progressive-leaning and *Dong-A Ilbo* leans toward conservative orientation. The search was conducted through an online search engine, Big Kinds, and an online newspaper archive, Naver News Library. The online newspaper archive was consulted to retrieve news articles that were published between 1960 and 1989, as Big Kinds provides news articles only from 1990 onwards. However, because Big Kinds database does not offer access to *Dong-A Ilbo's* news articles, I had to refer

directly to the newspaper's website to collect relevant articles published between 1990 to 2013. Although the data collection process turned out to be rather complicated, working around the limitation of each online search engine ensured that there was consistency in news data collected for the time frame of the study. The frequency of the three terms appearing in news articles, and how these articles cover issues and perspectives surrounding the terms were analyzed to understand how the public discourse of development becomes constructed over time.

RQs 3 - 6 address communication *of* development (Pamment, 2016), or how Korea's development agency seeks to inform the public about its engagement in development aid. In order to address the research questions, I analyzed award winning photos in annual KOICA volunteering photo competition from 2009 to 2013. These photos were treated as discursive text which "makes certain things visible in particular ways, and other things unseeable … and subjects will be produced and act within that field of vision" (Rose, 2016, p. 137). To address RQ4a, I conducted interviews with two former WFK-Korea University Council for Social Service (KUCSS) volunteers whose role was to record volunteer activities through photos and blog posts and upload them periodically to WFK social media sites. Analysis of interview data interrogates the discursive practices surrounding representational construction of volunteer experiences to inform and promote Korea' development work to its citizens, which works to produce certain imaginaries of development. As such, the photos are treated as discursive text that together create regimes of representation about developing countries and Korea's position in relation to the host as a basis for projecting its national identity.

RQs 7 and 8 address the question (albeit implicitly) raised by studies that examine flows of volunteers from non-Western countries, "Are non-Western volunteers better equipped to undertake development work?" (Balie Smith et al., forthcoming; Raymond &

Hall, 2008). In this chapter, I look as development communication as practice. The chapter is based on interviews with 15 volunteers, three volunteer coordinators, and one WFK staff. To address RQ 7, I analyzed the interview data broadly by interview participants' accounts of their pre-departure training, their everyday work, their secondary projects, and activities outside of their place of assignment. These included cultural exchanges, invitations from people in the town, and visits to capital cities. To address RQ7a, I referred to KOICA training manuals, evaluation reports of the training program, and textbooks used during certain modules. WFK pre-departure training varies according to the specific volunteer program. For example, the duration of KUCSS pre-departure training program is half the length of KOICA Overseas Volunteer (KOV) training program, which lasts eight weeks[11]. Given that 12 of my interview participants were KOV volunteers, I specifically referred to KOV training here. RQ 8 involved listening for the deeper meanings that would come up during any of the volunteer activities. I frequently asked questions about their relationship with the host, their relationship with other volunteers around the area, and asked volunteers to further explain when they spoke about positive or negative emotions, such as moments of frustrations, excitement, anger, and happiness. The RQs enabled me to approach volunteer experiences as both enabled and constrained by sociopolitical, cultural, and institutional contingencies.

[11] Volunteer training varies in terms of length, content, and location in which they are held by specific program and the hosting government institution. However, efforts to standardize pre-departure training is evidence in recent development of standardized textbooks in areas of development cooperation, health and safety, corruption and ethics, and sex education (M. Lee, 2018).

3.3. Research Approach: Reflexive Case Study

This study takes a case study approach to examine an emerging donor country's foreign aid initiative, particularly the international development volunteer program. A case study approach is defined as an empirical inquiry that uses multiple sources of evidence to ask "how" and "why" questions about a contemporary set of events in which the boundary between the phenomenon and context are not clearly defined (Yin, 2003, pp. 5-13). A case study therefore aims to use as many sources of data as possible to investigate a phenomenon systematically. Data across the range of documents, interviews, and observations are used to establish chain of evidence, identify patterns, and build explanations (Yin, 2003).

A case study approach is useful to examine a phenomenon from multiple contextual angles. For this study, I examine the case of Korea's development against temporal and spatial contexts. In this respect, Burawoy's conception of extended as method, which "extract[s] the general from the unique, to move from the 'micro' to 'macro' and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future" (Burawoy, 1998) is useful to consider. Within this process, I foregrounded what Burawoy refers to as "reflexive science," explained below.

> [Reflexive science is] a model of science that embraces not detachment but engagement as the road to knowledge. Premised upon our own participation in the world we study, reflexive science deploys multiple dialogues to reach explanations of empirical phenomena (p. 5).

While Burawoy (1998) is specifically referring to ethnographic research, I used this as a way to approach my own data, whether they may be a news article, observation in a volunteer recruitment information session, or interviews with former volunteers. In conducting this research, I had to constantly engage with and question my own assumptions, assumptions which were an outgrowth of my own identity as an English-

speaking, U.S.-educated female who had spent her adolescent and post-graduate years in the U.S. It also brought to the fore the motivation for this study, which was driven by my own previous experience as an international volunteer at an NGO. Conducting this research about Korea's past and how it is reflected in contemporary discursive practices of development in Korea involved challenging and questioning my own socially constructed perspectives. Most of all, I constantly asked whether I was approaching my data with the very lens that I sought to deconstruct and critique. In this dialogic process, I refined the way I approach and analyzed my data as well as the guiding questions. As such, I am in agreement with, and this study is an outcome of Coffey's (1999) claim that the self is engaged in the field at various levels and that fieldwork is an embodied experience that involves emotional and ethical, as well as scholarly concerns.

3.4. Data Collection

3.4.1. OBSERVATION

During my field research, I visited multiple venues organized or set up by KOICA. These included 1) Public outreach campaigns; 2) Recruitment information sessions; 3) ODA lectures; 4) International Conferences; 5) World Friends Village. I attended two public outreach campaigns. The first was a public outreach campaign directed at the Korean public, entitled, "Into the World Off the Road" held in Mapo Oil Tank Culture Park in Seoul. The campaign featured photos taken by a professional photographer, Kim Myeong Joong, of KOICA's projects around the world. The second public campaign I attended was called KOICA Bus Concert, which was implemented to provide information on and support overseas travel for young people who live outside of the capital city of Seoul. The campaign site consisted of recruitment consultation booths,

KOICA ODA-project related booths, photo exhibit, and briefing sessions on KOICA and volunteer recruitment information session. The campaign also featured a talk given by a director of a citizen diplomacy group in Korea, VANC, as well as presentation given by former volunteers on their experiences. During the presentations, I took notes on how the staff and the volunteers talk about their work, the audiovisual materials shown, and their strategies for attracting audience interest in the field of development. These venues were also good opportunities to engage in casual conversations with the staff and ask quick

questions. In one instance, a conversation with a staff member led to a formal interview.

The campaigns also directed my attention to certain audiovisual data, leading to in-depth analysis. It was during this time that opened my eyes to these photos and to engage with these images and to analyze these visual representations systematically as discursive text. Visiting various sites, I also came across visual material that were used repeatedly across multiple sites, such as a promotional video that was played during an ODA education lecture and in World Friends Village publicity center. Such repeated exposure enabled me to identify the material that were of greater strategic relevance to KOICA over others in projecting a desired narrative of the institution. Based on such observations, I narrowed down the range of material to prioritize upon undertaking data analysis, and to use the less frequently appearing text as a point of comparison.

3.4.2. INTERVIEWS

For the purpose of this study I conducted 19 semi-structured, in-depth interviews in Korea (see table 1). These individuals were recruited through purposive snowball sampling. The interviews lasted between one to two hours in length. All interviews were

conducted in Korean, transcribed in Korean, and then translated to English by the researcher.

My interview participants consisted of 15 returned WFK volunteers, three returned WFK volunteer coordinators, and one WFK staff in KOICA. The WFK staff whom I interviewed had been with KOICA for close to eight years and were knowledgeable about the volunteer selection process, training, monitoring, and evaluation. Volunteer coordinators are contract-based employees of KOICA and are stationed in KOICA's overseas offices. Their responsibility is to monitor volunteers, maintain connection with the headquarters, and to conduct needs research among local host institutions, based on which volunteers with the requested expertise are placed. Depending on the particular program, the volunteers stayed abroad for a period of six months to two years, undertaking a wide range of work in the areas of social work, library sciences, and education in art, physical education, the Korean language, and taekwondo.

Table 2. Interview Participant Profile[12]

Name	Program	Gender	Age group	Assignment	Country	Duration of stay
Cheon	KOV	Female	25-30	Social service	Ecuador	2 yrs.
Oh	KOV	Male	25-30	Sports ed.	Rwanda	2 yrs.
Park	KOV	Female	20-25	Library	Sri Lanka	2 yrs.
Hwan	KOV	Male	25-30	Primary ed.	Paraguay	2 yrs.
Lee	KOV (Senior)	Male	65+	Korean lang. ed.	Morocco	2 yrs.
Kim	KOV (Senior)	Female	65+	Culinary ed.	Morocco	2 yrs.
Min	KOV	Female	20-25	Korean lang. ed.	Peru	2 yrs.
Sohn	KOV	Female	25-30	Social service	Bolivia	2 yrs.
Choo	KOV	Female	25-30	Korean lang. ed.	Uzbekistan	2 yrs.
Han	KUCSS	Female	20-25	Culture ed.	Myanmar	2 yrs.
Soh	KUCSS	Male	20-25	Sports ed.	Sri Lanka	6 mo.
Choi	Taekwondo Peace Corps	Female	20-25	Taekwondo ed.	Tanzania	6 mo.
Lim	KUCSS	Male	20-25	Sports ed.	Vietnam	6 mo.
Joon	KOV	Male	25-30	Science ed.	Tanzania	2 yrs.
Kang	KOV	Male	25-30	Computer ed.	Ethiopia	2 yrs.
Hyun	Coordinator	Female	25-30	Coordinator	Sri Lanka	2yrs.
Oh	Coordinator	Male	25-30	Coordinator	Morocco	2 yrs.
Paik	Coordinator	Female	25-30	Coordinator	Columbia	2 yrs.

In the beginning of my field research, contacts from friends and acquaintances helped me to recruit interview participants. I interviewed a personal acquaintance who had spent two years abroad as a volunteer coordinator and a former volunteer to whom I was introduced through a friend's friend. In addition to personal contacts, I located

[12] All three coordinators had previous experience volunteering with KOICA. However, here, only their experience as coordinator is included as the interviews were mostly about the interview participants' experience as coordinators.

potential interview participants by accessing WFK blogs and social media sites where former volunteers were active members. Facebook messages or e-mails were sent out to these individuals, inviting them for interviews. I also referred to memoirs written by former volunteers and recruited one volunteer who had published a book based on his volunteer experience. Additional interview participants were recruited through snowball sampling method by asking interviewees to provide contacts who might be interested in the interview.

To briefly describe the interview participants, out of a total of 18 informants, 56 percent were female, and 44 percent were male participants. This proportion in gender is similar to the actual WFK (KOV) gender composition, which is around 60 percent female and 40 percent male volunteers (KOICA, 2016). The interviews were purposively selected to speak with volunteers who had served in different parts of the world. My interview participants had served in South/Southeast Asia (28%), Central Asia (5%), Africa (39%; three from North Africa and four from Sub-Saharan Africa), and Central/South America (28%). The countries represented here are given much more weight towards African and Central/South American countries than the actual percentage of volunteers deployed to these regions[13]. In terms of jobs, a large majority of the work undertaken by volunteers involved some kind of teaching (67%). In fact, KOV volunteers assigned to teaching positions far outweigh any other types of jobs on the ground[14]. Nonetheless, a limitation in my pool of interview participants may be that it does not reflect the diverse range of work undertaken during volunteer service. For example, none of the interview participants served as medical professionals. However, given the

[13] A majority of WFK-KOV volunteering takes place in Asian countries (56.8%), followed by Africa (22%), Central/South America (14.3%), Central Asia/CIS (6.2%), and the Middle East (0.8%; KOICA, 2016).

[14] KOV volunteers work in teaching (54.8%), health and medicine (13.4%), public administration (8.9%), industrial energy (9.1%), agriculture and fishery (13.3%) sectors, among others (KOICA, 2016).

limitation in my contacts, I could not account for the diversity of assignments as I had hoped. I tried to cover for the lack of representativeness in the volunteers' work by referring to written texts by previous volunteers. The memoirs that I have included in my analysis therefore are as follows: *Falling into Furaha, Tanzania* (2013) – A memoir written by a nurse; *Beautiful life, beautiful birth* (2014) – A memoir written by a doctor; Story of a couple's love for *KOICA* – A memoir written by senior volunteer couple; *Traces of passion: In the equator of Ecuador* (2013) – A memoir written by a WFK Senior Advisor.

This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (Study number 2015-02-0098). Prior to the interview, I explained about the purpose of the research, description of the procedures for the interview questions, and concerns about the risks of participating in the research. I asked for permission to audio record the conversation and reference the person in my study. I also let the interview participants know that they could opt out at any time during the interview. Following human subject protection in qualitative research (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), interview participants' names have been replaced with pseudonyms in order to protect the confidentiality of the research participants.

3.4.3. DOCUMENTS

Documents are important sources for supporting the arguments made through interviews and media texts (Yin, 2003). The range of documents collected were: News reports related to the volunteer program; memoirs written by volunteers; volunteer pre-departure training material; commissioned reports on WFK; annual reports and statistics. I've also collected pamphlets, brochures, a world map and a map of Korea that marks the territorially disputed island in its Korean name, "Dokdo."

I visited the ODA library in KOICA to gather administrative documents such as reports, evaluations, White Papers, and project proposals. These documents were used to corroborate findings, to cross-check information given by volunteers during interviews. At times, my interview participants directed me to news articles and commentaries that supported how they felt about the volunteer program. Such documents were used as a point of reference when interviewing subsequent volunteers. Usually, my interview participants had differing opinions and perspectives, which enabled me to look at a certain issue from multiple angles and to define a certain phenomenon in different ways.

Documents came into much use when I could not get an interview. The greatest challenge was in finding previous employees of the Presidential Council of Nation branding. Because the organization was shut down before this research was undertaken, I could not locate any of the previous staff. As such, I had to rely on documents produced by the PCNB to get an idea of the work that the organization did in relation to the volunteer program. Through the National Open Information System, I requested a list of all documents produced by PCNB that included the world "volunteer program." I was given a list of 95 documents, of which 70 were open for public view. The documents gave me a broad understanding of the nature of activities undertaken by PCNB between 2009 and 2013, and based on this, how PCNB envisioned the volunteer program. These data were used to examine how development within a nation branding framework becomes interpreted and exercised.

3.4.4. MEDIA TEXTS

For this study media texts were used as main sources of analysis or to triangulate findings from other documents and interviews. Media texts were gathered from multiple channels.

- Newspaper articles I consulted the Naver News Library, a newspaper archive, and Big Kinds, an online a news search engine, to collect news articles mentioning the terms *geundaehwa* (modernization), *segyehwa* (globalization), and *seonjinhwa* (making advanced) over the period of 1960 to 2013. In total, 68,761 articles were retrieved coverage from three newspapers, *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, *Dong-A Ilbo*, and *Maeil Business Newspaper*. I arranged these articles by year to examine the trends in the frequency of news articles over time.

- Photos of volunteer experiences I collected award winning photos taken by volunteers during their volunteering abroad. These photos were included in photo books published by KOICA each year. I analyzed a total of 115 photos published between 2009 and 2013. The analysis focused on identifying their location, theme, and image composition. I look for signs of not only the country or the city in which the photo is based but also whether the photo takes place in an indoors (classroom, medical facility, library, etc.) or outdoors (school field, farmland, etc.) venue. I paid attention to the background composition of the photos. I also identified the people who were present, what they were wearing, and what they were doing. In particular, I looked for whether there were mediating objects, which were wide ranging, from toothbrushes and balloons to laptop computers and water pumps. I looked at their position in relation to one another, and the direction of their gaze. I compared these components over time and by themes.

- Social media Social media data were comprised of volunteer blog postings in their private blogs, volunteer blog postings in official WFK blogs, and blog postings by the WFK staff. These media texts were useful to triangulate information provided

by volunteers during interviews. My analysis of these media text led me to question who the target audience was. The interview participants all responded that these media texts were geared towards the Korean public, namely, potential volunteers and friends and family members of volunteers. On the other hand, promotional videos of WFK and KOICA uploaded on Youtube had versions in different languages, which signaled that these videos were intended for international audiences. As I approached social media texts as strategic communicative forms, knowing the target audience helped to guide my analysis of these media texts.

CHAPTER 4. THE PRODUCTION OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENTAL CITIZENS IN KOREA

4.1. The narrative of past and present

In 2017, as part of my field research, I attended an Official Development Assistance (ODA) education program, organized by a regional affiliate of KOICA. During a lecture on Korea's ODA, a promotional video presented by the lecturer, who happened to be a staff from KOICA, caught my eye. Later in my field research, I encountered this video again during a visit to WFK publicity center. The narrative presented in the video encapsulated the dominant discourse of Korea's development history. A brief description of the video is worth mentioning here.

The video clip opens with a heavy tune playing from the background. Soon, black-and-white grainy images of helpless faces of children appear amidst rubbles of broken down homes. On the bottom of the screen appears the words: "The devastation in the aftermaths of the Korean War left us scarred and hungry," and the image transitions to show the words: "The members of the U.S. Peace Corps reached out to heal the pain." The video then goes on to show images of the U.S. Peace Corps' arrival in Korea followed by a series of images depicting the Peace Corps volunteers at work, teaching in classrooms, vaccinating a Korean girl, and mingling with Korean villagers. Then suddenly, the screen abruptly transitions to a "modernized" Korea, brimming with colorful lights, fast-moving cars on highways and bridges, skyscrapers, scenes from the World Cup, and images of famous celebrities and athletes. Written on the bottom of the screen are the words, Korea is the first country that has received help from the U.S. Peace Corps to create its own (government-sponsored) international development volunteer program. It states: "Now, our heart goes out to those who need us." The rest of the video

goes onto show the activities Korean volunteers undertake in schools, medical facilities, and in technical training centers.

There are different versions of promotional videos on KOICA and WFK. While some are geared more to presenting large-scale ODA programs and others more about volunteering, the narrative remains consistent across all of the videos. Korea places itself in relation to other countries to signal its position within the world order. The video states that Korea was in need of help from U.S.-led international aid. During this time, Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world, depicted in some videos that show aid packages coming from Liberia. Then using the Peace Corps as representing the US, the video claims that Korea was able to modernize, conveyed through a mixture of visual images depicting the strength of the country's infrastructure (highways, bridges, lights), industry (shipping and automobile factories), cultural assets (palaces, K-pop stars, traditional dance), and international events (1988 Olympics and 2002 World Cup). By associating WFK as an outgrowth of the U.S. Peace Corps, the narrative legitimizes the work of Korea's volunteers. As this narrative indicates, Korea's understanding of development relies as much as on the country's past as well as its present and is deeply embedded in the global context of development. In this chapter, I deconstruct the discursive space of development that makes narratives such as the one presented by KOICA an unquestioned national identity of Korea shared by many of its people.

4.2. Situating the Study: A Taxonomy of Korea's Development Research

Current research on Korea's development can be divided into three groups, which I identify as instrumental, analytical, and critical. The first group of research is led by government affiliated think tanks and university-based research centers that maintain

close relationships with the government. KDI's Knowledge Sharing Program is a representative case. As discussed in the literature review, reports produced by the Knowledge Sharing Program package Korea's development experiences into commodity forms for export by "rendering technical" the complexities of the political-ideological context to a formulaic set of intervention strategies that can be modeled by developing countries. These studies work to reinforce the current structure and policy of ODA by offering recommendations to manage efficiently and to strengthen practices of development. Others (Choi, Choi, & Kim, 2011; Yoon & Jeon, 2009) also partake in producing knowledge to support and depoliticize development by engaging in empirical research and employing scientific methods.

The second group of studies offers analytical frameworks to investigate systematically the politics of Korea's development aid policy. These studies mostly take a constructivist approach to understand how policies come to be and offer frames of analysis on Korea's aid management system (Jerve & Selbervik, 2009; E. M. Kim & Oh, 2012; Eun Mee Kim, Kim, & Kim, 2013; J. Kim, 2018; S. Kim, 2011; Watson, 2012). Studies in this group pay attention to policymaking as an area of contention, competition and collaboration among actors concerned, foregrounding politics operating within the structure of ODA and its ideas. As such, for these studies, it is not the understanding of development that is inherently problematic; rather, it is the politics and mode of organizing and managing that brings about unintended consequences of development projects. Alternative models, outlooks, and policy (such as private-public partnership or centralization) are suggested to bring about a more democratic space of development.

A large majority of research on Korea's development belong to the second group. Far less research belongs to the third group, which approach Korea's development from a vantage point outside of development. The aim of these studies is not to find ways to do

development better. Rather, these studies examine how development is implicated in broader relations of power. Rather, grounded in critical tradition, studies belonging to the third group analyze development in its relation to the greater historical and social context in which discourses that shape social relations are produced. The small number of studies in this group is evidenced in a recent book published by Jongtae Kim (2018), entitled *Eurocentrism and development in Korea*, which states that this book is the first sociological inquiry into the Eurocentric discourses in Korea from the late 19th century to the present. As the book indicates, more active scholarly attention to a critical approach in Korea's development is needed. Following the third group of research, in this chapter, I deconstruct the relations of power and ideology surrounding Korea's discourse of development.

Jongtae Kim's (2014) study shows the ways in which the discourse of development is manifested in Korea across time. He identifies the discursive structure of Korea's developmentalism through the discourses of modernization (*geundaehwa*), globalization (*segyehwa*), and becoming advanced (*seonjinhwa*). Drawing on presidential addresses, he finds that developmentalism in Korea consists of goal setting, problematization, crisis construction, reminding of national potential, and strategies. This chapter builds on J. Kim's study to interrogate Korea's historicized discourse of development. I pay particular attention to the disjuncture and consistencies in the three discourses in relation to the characteristic features of the discourses, their representational strategies, and how dispersed elements are mobilized to legitimize and sustain developmentalist ideology. As such, in analyzing communication *about* development in Korea, I situate the country's volunteer program against the broader historically produced "regime of representation" associated with development (Escobar, 1995, p. 6) .

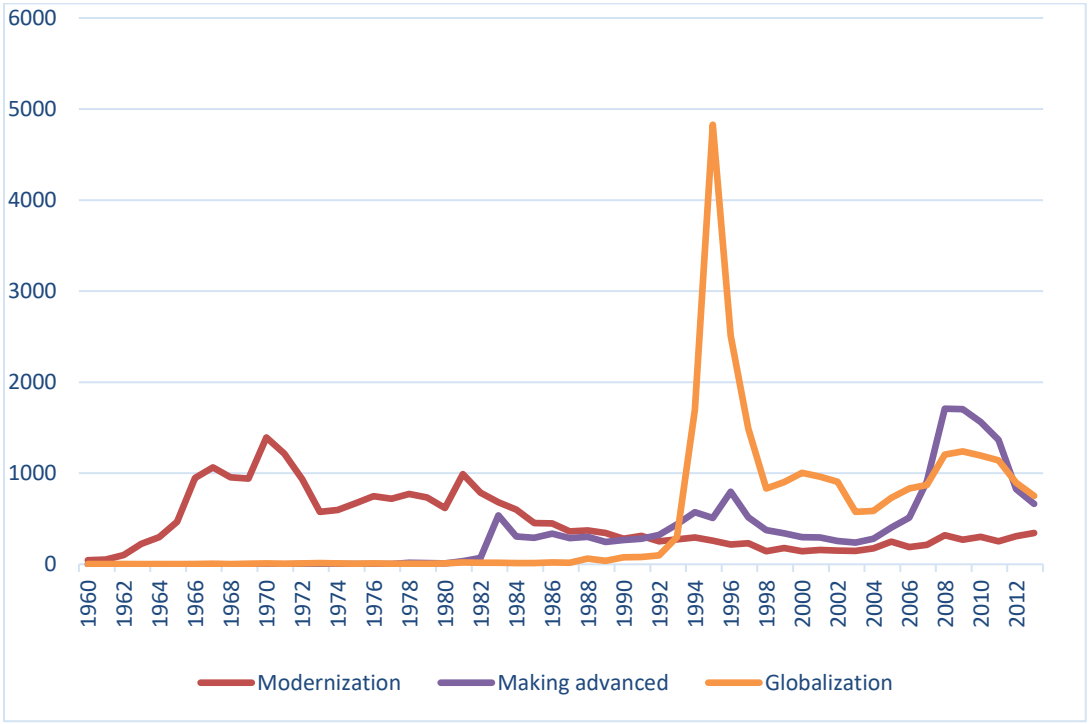
I draw on news coverage of the three keywords from the beginning of 1960 to the end of 2013. The three newspapers that I consulted are *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, *Dong-A Ilbo*, and *Maeil Business Newspaper*. *Kyunghyang Shinmun* and *Dong-A Ilbo* are progressive and conservative in orientation. The three newspapers have all been in operation since 1960. I searched for articles in which the terms *geundaehwa* (modernization), *segyehwa* (globalization), and *seonjinhwa* (making advanced) appear through an online search engine, Big Kinds and a newspaper archive, Naver News Library. Although Big Kinds is commonly used when conducting newspaper analysis, the search engine retrieved news articles going back no more than 1990. For news coverage between the periods 1960 to the end of 1989, I used the Naver News Library. The search yielded 24,789 news articles that mention the word *geundaehwa* (modernization), 17,928 news articles with the word *seonjinhwa* (making advanced), and 26,044 news articles in which the term *segyehwa* (globalization), appears. I begin my analysis by showing the frequency of these terms appearing in news coverage over time.

4.3. Manifestation of Developmental Understanding Across Time

Distributed across time, we can see that the frequency in which each term appears in news coverage are marked by points of take-off, peak, and decline. The term *seonjinhwa* (making advanced) was rarely mentioned in the press prior to 1960. But in the early 1960s, the use of the term gained currency and increased sharply, reaching its peak in the years 1970 and 1971. After the early 1970s, although the term is still invoked in popular press, it declined in frequency throughout the 1980s. During this time, the term *seonjinhwa* (making advanced) is introduced into the popular press. *Seonjinhwa* (making advanced) takes over *geundaehwa* (modernization) in the early 1990s and from

then, it is frequently invoked in the media throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s. Between 1996 and 1997, the number of news articles using the term *segyehwa* (globalization), peaked sharply. Although the peak declined rapidly as fast as its rate of increase, the *segyehwa* (globalization) remained commonly invoked in the popular press throughout the 1990s and 2000s. In 2008, the number of news articles mentioning the term *seonjinhwa* (making advanced) overtook the frequency of articles in which *segyehwa* (globalization) appeared. On the other hand, use of the term *geundaehwa* (modernization) in news coverage gradually decreased through the 1990s.

Table 3. Frequency of the terms modernization, making advanced, and globalization appearing in the Korean press (1960 – 2013)



The graph, which traces the frequency of news articles that mention the terms *geundaehwa* (modernization), *segyehwa* (globalization), and *seonjinhwa* (making

advanced), visualizes the shifting nature of discourse over time. According to Foucault (2013), discourse is a historically contingent system of knowledge. The graph indicates that discourse is constructed by relations of power in specific historical circumstances. The pattern shown in the graph, where the use of the three terms do not completely overlap but rather replace one over the other indicate that the terms represent relations of power against changing historical circumstances. These three terms can be considered historically constructed knowledge systems that provide interpretive frameworks of national identities and worldviews in the country's developmental processes. As such, a closer look into how these three terms are used would give us a glimpse into Korea's developmental historical conditions. The following sections will show how the discourse of development works by examining news articles and comparing them with key economic and political moments in Korea as well as the global context of development.

4.3.1. *GEUNDAEHWA*: MODERNIZING THE FATHERLAND

> We are going through a period of turbulence, standing at a crossroads of transition. In order to unbridle ourselves from the constraints of indignity and backwardness, we need to be prepared to sacrifice our everything, or the dark clouds of stagnation looming over our people's history will forever stay.
>
> Inaugural address, Park Chung Hee, Dec. 17, 1963

Geundaehwa (modernization, hereafter) was a term that gained currency with the coming of former military dictator, Park Chung Hee, in power. Prior to the 1960s, the term was rarely used in the popular press. In 1961, modernization appeared in 51 news articles. This number increased by twofold each subsequent year, to 103 in 1962 and 226 in 1963. By 1970, 1393 news articles mentioned the term modernization.

It was Park Chung Hee who ingrained the understanding of modernization in multiple aspects of the Korean society. His inaugural address as quoted above marked the modernization period of Korea. Korea's modernization period, typically the years that

Park Chung Hee was in power from 1961-1979, is characterized by maximal state intervention and authoritarian integration of society (H. Cho, 2000). Park's use of modernization boiled down to economic growth by way of industrialization through infrastructure development and export of heavy industries manufacturing.

Park widely spread the slogan, "modernization of the fatherland" through growth in Gross National Product (GNP). Mobilizing the populace was crucial to push its modernization project forward. Korea's precarious geopolitical position and few natural resources made it difficult to attract foreign investment (Woo, 1991). As such, managing human capital was seen as imperative in order to promote economic growth. Park put much emphasis on the educational institution, stating "modernization of the fatherland cannot be achieved without development of human resource through education" ("Developing human resource," 1966). Another characteristic feature of modernization was spiritual values, or adoption of certain cultural values. Although Park introduced the term modernization as a national slogan, it also symbolized the U.S.-led global development intervention in the Third World. In the early years, modernization was discussed in the popular press in conjunction with aid received from the West. Also, news articles sought to make sense out of notions that were unfamiliar and to which there was not yet a direct translation. For example, one article introduced the notion of the global South in this way.

> [The terms North and South] cannot be thought about in terms of territorial boundaries like North and South Korea… nor does it refer to political dissension and division in Laos. It refers to polarization in economy among advanced and backward countries. It must have been named so because aid-giving countries like the U.S. and Russia are located in the north of the in latitude (1960, Oct. 29).

In turn, such socially produced understandings of space were used to position Korea within the global order gauged by degree of modernization. News articles

introduced interpretive frameworks of organizing and classifying the world drawing on diverse range of ideas coming from the Western elites, such as the American economist Walt Rostow. News articles also compared Korea with other aid-receiving countries, like Indonesia and Burma. They explored referential terms, such as "newly rising least-developed country," ("Commentary," 1960) as Korea's national identity. During this time, modernization was mostly discussed as an exogenous force that was brought in from the West, part and parcel of the intense U.S.-led development intervention in Korea.

Throughout the 1960s, Park Chung Hee emphasized ownership of "modernization of the fatherland." He frequently used slogans that made concepts easy to grasp and follow. Park would say "Nowadays, level of culture is measured by the amount of cement used." ("Contributing to Agricultural and Fishery Modernization," 1966). Comparing Korea to Japan and China, he said that Korea used much less cement.

By the 1970s, use of modernization became ingrained as commonplace language in the popular press. The term permeated into the social, political, and economic fabric of the Korean society. It was used in many different contexts and situations, in some cases, in ways that transcended its dominant definition of economic growth and spiritual reform. Modernization came to signify improvement for some kind of deficiency within institutions, systems, and practices. News articles addressed a need for modernization of education, modernization of investigation technology, and modernization of the social structure. Modernization of the education system pointed to the need for less corruptive behavior of schools and criticized the uncivilized attitude of mothers for their selfishness that placed their child's interest above others (Noh, 1970).

Modernization was also frequently associated with science. An article, pointing to many failed attempts to capture criminals, contended that modernization of the police

investigation system is needed. The article alternated between using the phrase "modernization of the investigation system" and "scientific approach toward investigation system," thereby equating the modern as scientific and the Korean investigation system as haphazard and done more for show ("Modernizing police investigation technology," 1970).

Associating modernization to technological and scientific authority was also evident in news coverage on the census. It indicated the superiority of professional knowledge coming from modern methods of measurement and assessment. Published under the headline, "Census, a blueprint of modernization," a news article from 1970 reported on census gathering, undertaken under the support of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization. The news coverage focused on the large scale of the project that was facilitated by hiring school teachers to collect census data, and in using a high-performance digital calculator to come up with rapid analysis. Such a state-of-art method is said to do the job of creating a concrete roadmap for policymaking in the agriculture and fisheries sector. The professionality of the census takers, the elementary school teachers, added authority to the program. Rural regions were seen as place in need of monitoring and management by the government, professionals, and through modern devices.

While popular press coverage in the early 1970s indicated a wide range of context in which modernization came to be used, it was discussed most frequently in relation to agricultural development. By 1970, rural exodus and overcrowding of urban centers surfaced as national exigency. One article stated in 1970 that within 10 years, 65 percent of the rural population had migrated to urban cities ("Claims to modernization," 1970). What is noteworthy is that rather than considering the mass migration to urban centers as a manifestation of industrialization, the emptying out of rural areas was attributed to

deficiencies inherent in the rural areas. The need for reforms of both agricultural infrastructure as well as the mind of the farmers appeared frequently in the popular press. News coverage reported on opinion polls indicating a large majority of people saying that modernization of rural areas was the most pressing social issue. Others drew on Eurocentric perspectives of Third World countries and directed such a colonial gaze at rural areas. Interestingly, it was the director of the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation who wrote,

> Gunnar Myrdal says that poverty in Asia is not due to the lack of its history of resource, or capital. It is due to the people's irrational attitude and a stagnant social system. His viewpoint can be applied effectively to our rural regions (Suh, 1970a).

The director authored few other opinion pieces as well during this period, all of which emphasize the need for farmers and rural people to embody self-reliance, self-help, and diligence (Suh, 1970b; Suh, 1970c). Coming from a person who worked the most closely with farmers, we can see how paternalistic assumptions have come to dominate the modernization discourse. The fact that such modes of interpretation takes hold even without direct intervention coming from Western development actors who produced these discourses constitutes what Foucault refers to as discipline (Foucault, 1977) through internalization. The press, along with other state apparatuses like schools, help to self-sustain the colonial discourse by making vernacular these regimes of representations.

4.3.1.1. Saemaul Undong: Modernizing the Rural

Saemaul Undong is the driving force of national development. Putting it into practice is, therefore, what constitutes an act of nationalism.

"Keynote on Saemaul Administration," 1972

Saemaul Undong, which translates to "New Village Movement," was a rural reform movement initiated by the Park regime in the 1970s. It remains one of the most

ideologically influential state-led movements in Korea and it continues to be ingrained in the memory of older Korean generation as a symbol of national growth and collective consciousness.

The reform movement came about as a result of widening urban and rural economic divide throughout the 1960s and the dwindling support of the rural residents, who comprised a majority of the working population,[15] toward Park Chung Hee. Park responded by initiating a community-based reform movement in rural villages. Inspired by villagers in Gyeongbuk Province engaging in collaborative work to restore the village appearance after a flood, Park distributed 300 bags of cement to 35,000 villages. Each village was to choose its own project, such as widening streets, constructing bridges, creating irrigation, and building community centers, among others. The overall project, which gained enormous popularity among rural villages, expanded in scope to include income generation and productivity, and in scale, expanding nationally over the following decade.

Within this perspective, the government constructed a particular vision of the village. Park lamented that "farmers have lived a thousand years of wretched poverty in despair and resignation," stressing that it was because of the "lack of the will and confidence of farmers to lead a better way of life" (Lee, 2011, p. 76). By employing a rhetoric of "lack," Park brought attention to the villages' helplessness and incompetence.

The ways in which the village was constructed contributed to how the Park regime identified and defined the problem of urban-rural divide (stagnant mindset and behavior of individuals), which, in turn, shaped the potential solution (hard work, cooperation, and self-help). Such discursive construction echoes what Arturo Escobar

[15] In 1963, 63 percent of the total working population was engaged in farming and fisheries (Han, 2004).

(1995) refers to as the invention of "the village." Drawing on Pigg's study of Nepalese communities, Escobar points out that the trope of the village is promoted as a particular contribution through development discourse. Pigg observes that the villagers and their routines could not be translated easily into the modernization language and, therefore, were interpreted as being 'ignorant' and people who "don't understand things" (p. 49). Similarly, in the case of the Korean context, the fact that prior to the 1950s, there was no disparity in income between the rural and the urban areas, or that Saemaul Undong co-opted agrarian reform movements that were being ignited by the farmers, remains hidden from the dominant discourse (Y. M. Kim, 2009).

Saemaul Undong further engaged in "inventing" the village as a construct by categorizing them according to their level of performance based on their economic productivity. Each village was placed into basic, self-help, and self-reliant categories, with resources distributed differently according to the performance of each village, as a way to encourage "friendly competition."

News coverage during this time emphasized the importance of vertical ties linking national, provincial, municipal, and village level administrations equally committed to achieving diligence, self-help, and cooperation. Park frequently referred to this link as a "holy trinity" of the central, regional, and village-level administration ("Saemaul Undong for all Farmers," 1972; "President Park Urges Expansion," 1972). In addition to vertically-flowing coordination, in an ethnographic study of Saemaul Undong, Young-Mi Kim (2009) suggests that the institutionalization of Saemaul Undong involved a network of zealous men at the forefront who frequently initiated the removal of sacred and traditional artifacts to promote efficiency and material wealth. Moreover, they installed modernization as a new religion, transferring from rural farmers' subservience toward gods toward national allegiance. Kim's study indicates that modernization and

nationalization processes were mutually reinforcing through government policies and public discourse.

Along with slate roofs and widened roads, amplifiers became another visible symbol of modernization in rural villages. Latched high atop on a pole or on a tree near the center of the village (usually nearby village anchor institutions such as schools), amplifiers were used for all sorts of announcements, from administrative issues, tax payment, cost of crops to information regarding cattle subsidy, and to call on villagers to join different village projects. According to a news report ("New Landscape of a Farming Village," 1977), "amp broadcast" began every morning at six o'clock (or even five, depending on the village) with the national anthem, followed by the voice of the village leader, who would say something similar to, "Today is a village clean-up day, so let's bring out our brooms and take part in cleaning the village." The announcements were followed by playing of Saemaul songs, "Let's live well," "My Fatherland," lasting for well over an hour. The news article goes onto say:

> No longer do we hear our traditional tunes sung by village grandmothers. These age-old melodies have been replaced by Saemaul campaign songs commonly heard during village gatherings. This is because all villagers have unconsciously taken in the lyrics as they listen to the songs every day through the amplifier. So, those Saemaul campaign songs became the go-to songs that all villagers can sing together (para. 14-15).

As the news article illustrates, amplifiers, despite their intrusive quality, served to construct the village as not only a material unit but also as a unit of collective consciousness achieved through listening together. The amplifier linked the village to the national, cultivating people to think of themselves as national subjects. The amplifier can be seen as a powerful state apparatus that forged a strong national consciousness among the rural population.

The Saemaul Undong was claimed to be successful as a spiritual revolution that eradicated the stagnant, irrational, and immoral minds of the villagers, generating a "can do" mindset befitting modern, liberal individuals. However, the significance of the movement lies in changing the rural population from organically performing units with historically shaped ways of doing and thinking to being co-opted as national subjects in the modernization project. As citizens, people were expected to give up their land voluntarily as new roads were built or expanded. In addition, the villagers provided unpaid labor working in communal projects. Instead of monetary compensation for the villagers, these projects recognized individual work as contributing to the social well-being of the village. Saemaul Undong did provide resources, such as concrete, construction machinery, and financing to the village as collective units. Through this work, married women, who had lived their lives as wives or mothers, experienced empowerment and achievement for being recognized for their work (Y.M. Kim, 2011).

This recognition was awarded through the state, privileging citizenship more in terms of norms and identity than through rights, supporting the project of national modernization. As such, citizenship became tied to nationalism. In such ways, Saemaul Undong, as state-led mass mobilization of its people, shows how in Korea, "nationalism has become the religious surrogate of modernity" (Smith, 1999, p.100). However, this construction of nationalism also established a very narrow understanding of citizenship as developmental subjects, setting in place a path that defines development as a necessary race from being a "backward" nation to the status of an "advanced" nation.

4.3.2 *Seonjinhwa* Discourse in the 1980s: Disciplining the Mind and Body

As Korea became rapidly industrialized in the 1970s, the use of modernization discourse slowly declined. Along with economic indicators such as the growth in GNP,

reports produced by the UN stating that Korea was leading Third World countries in economic and social indicators (market size, life expectancy, literacy, etc.) served as a source of confidence that Korea had overcome a backward status and is moving closer toward modernization. In 1983, then-president Chun Doo Hwan, the successor of Park Chung Hee, proposed "creating advanced (seonjin) fatherland" as a part of the New Year national address (1983).

During this time, promotion of popular culture and leisure became visible in public discourse. Newspapers covered the president's emphasis on making advanced the sports sector ("Sports Seonjinhwa", 1983). The previous regime was openly critical of leisure activities, linking them with moral degeneration (oftentimes bringing up gambling) or connecting them with extravagance. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Park Chung Hee regime promoted "thrift and savings" as a nationwide campaign. Nonetheless, economic growth and spread of private ownership during this time saw popularization of outdoor-oriented leisure, picnics, and weekend getaway trips. As leisure culture led to increased mass consumption, contributing to domestic economy, however, the government reacted with intentional oversight or tried to co-opt it for national growth (Song, 2013). As such, although leisure and sports did not feature prominently in news media during this time, there was already an established leisure and sports culture set in place in the Korean society by the early 1980s.

The Chun regime saw this as an opportunity to further encourage consumption around sports, first, as a way to use the positive emotions gained from consuming sporting events, such as self-efficacy, solidarity, and catharsis to bleed into the people's everyday work. For example, Chun told the Korean youth soccer team that had returned after unprecedentedly taking fourth place in the Asian Games, "Due to the great performance you have shown us, the citizens have gained confidence not only in soccer

but in every aspect of our country's undertaking" ("President Chun, Creation of Seonjin," 1983).

Second, consumption and production of sports and leisure was seen as a cultural apparatus by which to discipline the body and the mind. As a part of the *seonjinhwa* (national advancement) policy, Chun set up a nationwide campaign to eliminate the three negative emotions, comprised of corruption, inflation, and chaos. The government set up call centers to report anyone who breaks these principles. People were placed under constant surveillance and this was Chun's signaling that no dissidence will be tolerated, just as he had led the Gwangju Massacre[16] three years ahead. He exhorted creative values, self-sacrifice, and self-reliant capability on the national elite ("Seonjinhwa and the role of the elite," 1983). During this time, numerous propagandistic news stories were produced as well. One article justified the "public relations of the government to its people" by using advanced industrial nation states as a reference point. The article constructs the west as "advanced industrial states where democracy is firmly established, the civil consciousness of its citizens is well developed and the government satisfies the people′s right to know″ ("seonjinhwa of the consciousness," 2984, para. 5) to perceive itself as deficient of all things, which serves as a reason for the need to cultivate its people to take ownership of the country. Chun also ordered concerned government officials to monitor people′s behavior. In this context, sports promotion is seen as a way to distract people from political dissonance and to discipline the self. With the hosting of the Korean Olympics, consideration of tourism and publicity also became frequently discussed. For the first time, Korea's national identity became widely discussed in terms of its cultural attractiveness to foreign people.

[16] In 1980, the military dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan killed nearly 200 people who were in pro-democratic protest by declaring martial law across the country, shutting down universities and the Parliament, and arresting opposition leaders.

Unlike modernization, "making advanced" was Korea's own construction that produced its national identity through the image of the Western world. Like modernization, the discourse of making advanced permeated all sectors of the society as a master narrative. However, what was different was that while modernization was a guided development, "making advanced" remained vague without clear guidelines of how to enact this as a process. The public discourse surrounding "*seonjinhwa*" was the desire to achieve it (e.g. "Let's pull seonjinhwa forward by 10 years") but at the same time, news coverage showed uncertainties of what the term actually entailed and lack of directionality three years after the national goal was proclaimed. The abstractness of it, however, rendered it easy to be idealized as something that everyone and all sectors of the society need to aspire to achieve. The ruling party manipulated the discourse as a justification for suppressing the growing pro-democracy movement, stating that such movements were only creating chaos and division, obstructing the country's move toward an advanced country.

Seonjinhwa discourse was also easily appropriated as a tool of legitimation by the Chun regime to remain in power. It was seen as a glue to keep the Korean people together under control in spite of the atrocities committed by the military dictator during his time in office. Chun was quoted in a news report stating,

> We are in a good position to take a big leap in national growth now as we have established the foundations to move forward to becoming an advanced country and we will be hosting the Seoul Olympics next year. But as we are now at the cusp of the road to becoming an advanced nation since the second World War, we need to reflect carefully by looking at other countries that have fallen through the cracks back to its backward state through neglect and chaos, and use it as an example to save the spirit of advancement ("Let's keep seonjinwha alive," 1984).

After the close of Chun's military rule, *seonjinhwa* (making advanced) discourse gave way to globalization, which reflected the shifting global structure following

neoliberalization of the global political economy (Harvey, 2005). However, *seonjinhwa* as an ideology stayed, working to legitimize the *segyehwa* (globalization) policy discourse.

4.3.3. GLOBALIZATION PERIOD AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE *SEGYE SHIMIN* (GLOBAL CITIZEN)

> We are now standing at a crossroad of whether to prevail or fail in an era of globalization, and our only choice is to tear down the wall inside us and to be born again as ethically and culturally confident Koreans in this world.
>
> Kim Youngsam, Into the Sea of Segyehwa, New Year Speech, Jan. 1, 1994

The *segyehwa* (globalization) initiative began in 1994, launched by former President Kim Youngsam, the country's first civilian leader following the military dictatorship. Kim first announced *segyehwa* (globalization) as a national policy on New Year's day, 1995. In the speech presented by Kim, he conveys a sense of exigency in Korea against the rising tide of globalization. He expresses the vulnerability and disempowerment of the Korean people as they are watching the unfolding of free-market capitalism. However, while such external forces are treated as a threat to national survival, Kim also sees it as a challenge to be embraced, which Koreans could use to boost their move toward becoming an advanced country. The sense of imminent threat is mobilized to highlight the need for the Korean people to ride along with, not against, the wave of globalization. He uses Korea's past as an example to make the point that "if we cower and close the door before us, history shows us that our society will fall into the abyss. We can see such sad state in late Joseon dynasty and in North Korea today." ("New Year speech," para. 2). As such, Kim problematizes the domestic society. He states that it is the political and social divisions that separate the Korean people along many lines that are truly holding this country back. While distancing himself from

resistant nationalism in the 1970s, he states that Koreans need to unite, and to do that, what is needed is "globalization of the consciousness."

Between Park Chung Hee and Kim Yongsam's speeches, we can see a continuity in the ways that globalization and modernization are discussed. In particular, I point to the resemblance in the ways in which the discourses of globalization and modernization construct the object and the subject of knowledge. Both drew on a "crossroad" imagery to represent the exigency of the current socioeconomic position of Korea. The term crossroad also produces knowledge about Korea in relation to the world order. The crossroad leads to either an advanced or backward state, and both leaders of Korea state that Korean people have only one choice, to move forward. This obligates the people to act on behalf of the nation for national survival. Here, survival of the people is equated with survival of the nation.

Both modernization and globalization foregrounded the sociopolitical conditions within Korea as problematic. What is interesting is that Kim used the term *gukjehwa* (translated as internationalization) to refer to globalization in terms of spread of free-market capitalism. On the other hand, when talking about how to push the country forward along with the external force, Kim uses *segyehwa* (translated as globalization). This is carried on in the government opting to use the romanized spelling, "segyehwa" rather than its English translation, globalization, when speaking or writing about the *segyehwa* policy in English. A news article states, "the English term globalization does not fully convey the authentic Korean strategic concept." According to the government, segyehwa is a "total policy." The news article likened the government's decision to common use of the term "Chaebol" rather than using the English translation, "conglomerate." (Huh,1995).

During 1994 and 1995, news coverage that mention globalization mostly discussed its policy aspect, identifying the people in the forefront ("diplomats are on the forefront of globalization"), defining the role of state apparatuses (if economics or foreign relations are at the forefront of globalization, the press is a pillar supporting globalization).

What is interesting is that the public discourse of globalization took rather different perspectives when discussing globalization as policy on the one hand and as a logic of organizing the world order on the other: The first approached globalization as a set of measures consisting of deregulation of state protective measures shaping the global structure. Within this first aspect, globalization was frequently critiqued through editorials and commentaries. This perspective became prominent especially following Korea's financial crisis in 1997. Editorials and commentaries drew on growing inequality by bringing up aggravating rates of unemployment, polarization of wealth throughout the world, subsuming of state economies (for those states having undergone financial crisis) to the peripheries of U.S.-led capitalist market system (Cho, 1997, "few winners, many losers," "Globalization is a fiction," "The fetters of globalization," 1999). The sharp increase in news coverage that expressed critical perspectives of globalization also reflected the greater anti-globalization movements at the turn of the millennium. Books on anti-globalization during this time, such as *Global Trap: Civilization and the assault on democracy and prosperity,* made their way up to the best seller list[17].

At the same time, popular press was supportive of exporting Korean culture abroad and making the Korean population global minded. References to the term "global citizen" appeared frequently. In a study that examined media coverage of the term

[17] This particular book recently became popular again when news spread that it was labeled as "dangerous literature" along with other 23 books by the Ministry of National Defense (Kim, 2018).

"global citizen" Schattle (2015) found that the media engaged in exhorting the Korean people "to overcome numerous liabilities seen as impeding the country's advancement" (p. 53).

Like modernization discourse, s*egyehwa* (globalization) discourse emphasized spiritual reform as a key component. Editorials and commentaries oftentimes expressed critical perspectives toward the closed-off attitude of the Korean people who were dogmatic in maintaining "our culture." (Lee, 1995)

The impact of the financial crisis during this time and the integration of neoliberal ideology into Korea contributed to shaping the ideas and visions driving global citizenship as a state-led mobilization of its populace.

> In contrast with countries in North America and western Europe, where appeals to global citizenship in civil society, academia, and the corporate sector often signify a departure from expressly nationalist sentiments by evoking moral responsibilities to humanity and the planet, global citizenship discourse in South Korea fits seamlessly into a larger pattern of government-driven rhetoric aimed at raising the country's global stature and prestige (Schattle, 2015, p. 54).

Reflecting on the public discourse of global citizenship, Schattle (2015) claims, "Global citizenship [in Korea] is primarily about national advancement rather than any sort of transcendence of national identity into cosmopolitan ideals of universal belonging and obligation" (p. 54). The logic of global citizenship is consistent with developmental citizenship during the authoritarian era.

During this phase, the country embraced globalization as a foreign policy, and foreign aid was discussed as a primary tool by which to legitimize the work of the government's continued race to move towards an advanced status. As the financial crisis drove the state to attach global citizenship to economic competence of individuals, global citizenship rested on the narrative that economic recuperation of the country rested on a self-governing individual, who exerts competence in the global arena. And one of the

ways to instill a global citizenship mindset for the younger generation was in becoming involved in moral obligation toward transnational and humanitarian issues like poverty and environment.

4.3.3.1. Global Citizen as a National Subject

During this phase of globalization, mobilizing citizens rested on both individual sacrifice and individual achievement in the name of the nation. For example, citizens were exhorted to donate their personal savings of gold to help pull the country out of financial crisis. Public figures including politicians, television celebrities, corporate heads, and countless numbers of ordinary people donated their own money during this time. On the other hand, discourses of global citizenship emphasized the importance of self-governing individuals, by focusing on sports stars, celebrities, and people who made it on their own and became successful abroad. Cho Young-Ahn (2008) states that citizenship became defined along the lines of "a national individual," (p. 82) represented by the media as a self-governing individual who is also invested with responsibility for both family and nation-state. One such individual was Han Biya, who became famous in the late 1990s for her four series of travelogues reflecting on the adventures of her seven-year backpacking trip to remote parts of the world. At a time when free travel had only become legalized a decade before, Han Biya arose as a national celebrity and a role model for the younger generation of Koreans.

Han Biya began her backpacking travels in her 30s, giving up a manager position in an international public relations company. Through her travels she became a strong advocate for humanitarian causes, especially human rights and refugees. After her backpacking trip, she found a career as leading the Emergency Relief Team for World Vision Korea, attracting unprecedented public attention to humanitarian issues.

Han Biya is an interesting case because her travels around the world and her support to humanitarian causes opened space for her to be imagined as cosmopolitan rather than along the lines of global citizen as envisioned within the dominant discourse of globalization in Korea. In fact, she is introduced in the media as a "true cosmopolitan" (1999.06. 22). However, in examining her discursive strategy, we can see how her narrative is situated within the same development discourse to which Korea was once (and still is) subjected. Her discursive strategy reinforces compassionate cosmopolitanism that foregrounds a hierarchical relationship between "us" and "them." Furthermore, her accounts draw on copious amounts of signifiers that romanticize people she has encountered during her travels.

Han Biya wrote a series of commentary for *Dong-A Ilbo* in the newspaper's Lifestyles section in 1996. The 17 commentaries discuss her experiences traveling around the world and reflections from the perspective of a "global citizen." Her commentaries provided first-hand accounts of her experiences while traveling abroad in remote parts of the world. In some commentaries, she urged her readers to become more aware of transnational problems inflicting the world, and in others, she gave advice on how to become an individual befit to survive in a globalized world.

In general, Han's writings reflect an extension of the discourse of the global citizen as a national subject. She displayed strong attachment to her national identity throughout her commentaries, commenting that her backpacking experience has strengthened her Korean affiliation to her motherland (Han, 1996a). She is critical of immigrant mothers who boastfully mention that their children cannot speak Korean, just as she finds it problematic to see Korean children learning English even before they can speak proper Korean. The popular discourse surrounding Korean capability of English is contradictory for it calls for increased capability of individuals, commenting that the lack

of English competency is shameful (W. Kim, 2002) but at the same time, the national obsession with teaching children English is also seen as foolishly chasing the American way of life over and losing sight of what is truly important (Han, 1996a). In engaging in such discourse of the global citizen, she reproduces the national subject who is exhorted to embody nationalistic values and global competence, which may be in contradiction to one another.

Furthermore, Han engaged in romanticized accounts of people she had met; those who are poor but happy, conversing with ordinary people in third class trains, people who do not earn much but have integrity and pride in what they do. Comparing herself to her hosts, she expressed admiration of their sense of modesty, integrity, and pride (Han, 1996). Han's first-hand accounts of people she met in "poor and dangerous" parts of the world are powerful for their strong imagery that works to reaffirm rather than subvert the scattered images people have of distant others. In one commentary, she called for greater awareness of the lack of water in Africa (Han, 1996c). She recounted her encounter with five women who were married to a same man. Telling the story of their daily two-hour travel on foot to fetch water that was to her dismay, quite dirty, Han states that the wives remarked, "We can share a husband, but we cannot share our water." (Han, 1996, para. 7) While Han is genuinely concerned of the dire situation, her accounts position the Korean readers as part of the developed countries in the West, to which the society has long aspired. In her travelogue, Han frequently drew on memories of the times when Korea was poor. By placing Korea against the image of poor places she visited, it works to historicize Korea's past as a poor, underdeveloped country. Her humanitarian spirit works to create epistemic binaries between Koreans as living a modern lifestyle characterized by material abundance but less time to be with families or reach into our inner selves, and her hosts as being stuck in time, spiritual, appreciating small things, and

being happy with what they have rather than demonstrating greed. As such, Korean readers engage in nostalgic reminders of Korea's past.

4.3.4 MAKING ADVANCED AND NATION BRANDING

> We are now at the footsteps of becoming an advanced country. We have experiences of both a developing country and an emerging economy, based on which we can act as a bridging country in G20 Summit. Thank you for enduring through the difficult times. Please bear up just a bit more.
>
> Lee Myung-bak, Press Conference, 2009

The frequency of the term "making advanced" appearing in news coverage peaked in 2008, when it was announced by former President Lee Myung-bak in his presidential speech. Although previous governments have engaged in national image making, nation branding was formally adopted into state policy in 2008, with former president Lee Myung-bak's inauguration.

The logic of discourse concerning *seonjinhwa* diverges from the way it was used in the 1980s, as an ideological tool to discipline the mind and body of its people to which popular culture like sports and leisure were seen as governing devices. Diverging from this earlier conception, sports came to be discussed primarily as an investment. The term "gugwiseonyang" (translated as upholding the nation) was seen as cliché; it was argued that good performance in sports brings along with an attractive national image, tangible economic profit ("sports is an investment," 2008). In the social construction of space predominating the worldview of Korean popular discourse, sports had been envisioned as a way to push Korea to the center of the world order. The news article comments, "Korea, a small country in Asia, caught the attention of people around the world as a strong sports nation ahead of Japan and France…" When the Korean soccer team advanced to the second round in the World Cup, the team remarked, "We can now shed the sorrow of being soccer periphery" (Choi, 2010). Both news articles state that there is

no better way to spread a national brand worldwide as effectively as through sports. Advancing to the second round of the World Cup was measured by monetary value, including direct economic value, brand publicity value, and corporate image enhancement. Such understanding that reflected a collapse in the relationship between nation, culture, and capital became prevalent as a guiding rational for seonjinhwa (advancement) in news coverage from 2008.

Nation branding gained currency shortly after former President Lee Myung-bak's speech celebrating the 60th anniversary of Korea. The popular press covered his speech, which described, "public opinion and conflict, violent protests, antagonistic labor disputes, highest suicide rate among OECD countries, and foremost cause of death being from automobile accidents" as the current state of Korea. However, after listing these social problems, Lee problematizes such social problems along the lines of misbehavior that paints a negative image of Korea. As such, the solution is presented as effective nation branding. Nation branding, according to Lee, will guide Korea to become a truly advanced country.

Subsequent news coverage in the latter part of 2008 to 2009 discussed how to implement nation branding. News articles reported on a diverse range of cultural forms and practices that may help enhance the country's nation brand. Saemaul Undong was brought up as a national brand that can be transferred to developing countries. The President of Saemaul Undong Center was quoted as saying: "I will bolster the organizational structure and system of Saemaul Undong to one that befits the 21st century" ("Saemaul Undong, becoming advanced," 2008) The *haenyeo*, or the female divers in Korean island of Jeju, were recognized as representing the national brand. Korea′s cheering culture, mainly used to refer to the support towards the national soccer team, is interpreted in the popular press as a tourism resource. Quoting a foreign resident

in Korea, “When I go out into the streets to cheer [during soccer games], I don’t feel like an outsider. We all become one and enjoy the game together” (Lee & Koh, 2010, para. 9). The cheer culture was given significance for giving tourists and foreigners an authentic experience of Korea.

On the other hand, analysis of news coverage also found that the discourse of nation branding was adopted by institutions to attract government attention. An interview with the director of Korea Aerospace Research Institute, Lee Joo Jin, shows the ways in which Lee maneuvers in and outside of the dominant discursive space of development to quell the negative public opinion towards the Korea Space Center’s inequitable relationship with Russia, while legitimizing the importance of the space center’s work for the country. He takes the readers outside of Korea’s dominant narrative of development aid by telling that neither Japan nor the US were willing to assist Korea in developing this technology because of its similarity to missile technology. However, Russia accepted Korea’s request. According to Lee, Korea was able to save decades of time by collaborating with Russian scientists. Lee goes on to state: “Space technology constitutes one of the major indicators of national competency. In that it enhances the national brand, it is more powerful than any other technology sector” (W. Cho, 2009). As illustrated in this quote, Lee adopted the language of the government, thus aligning the work of the space center with the government agenda as a way to attract government support.

Korea’s admission to the OECD DAC was closely associated with moving to the footsteps of *seonjinhwa* (advanced state). News headlines referred to the DAC as *seonjinguk* club, (or the club of advanced countries). In the run-up to assuming the G20 presidency in December 2009, Korea’s former president, Lee Myung Bak, announced that “Korea will come into global focus as a host of the G20 summit and by taking on that responsibility, will become a truly advanced nation.” In a press conference following

Korea's successful bid to host the G20 Summit, Lee gave a speech, entitled "Change in perception, from periphery to the center." He began by saying:

> Just a century ago, our people could not even enter the door of the Hague International Peace Conference. Lee Joon, the secret envoy of Emperor Ko Chong, gave his life in protest to the international order. We, who have heretofore assumed passive roles within the frame of world order created by others, are now a country creating the frame and the game (2009, para. 6)

The G20 Summit is used as symbolic evidence to indicate how far Korea has come, to a point where it finds itself at the doorsteps of advanced countries. However, it is not yet there, because Korea still lacked cultural attractiveness. As such, press coverage on nation branding explored ways to enhance Korea's national brand value.

In its constant race to become an "advanced nation," Lee Myung Bak's administration put into action managing public goods as resources, recognizing that being seonjinguk (advanced country) entails more than the size of the economy. The administration began to use the term "mature nation" to encompass not only the country's GDP, but also its cultural attractiveness through its practices of nation branding.

Korea's nation branding strategy embraced essentializing the nation by defining it through set markers that were perceived to be authentically Korean. An example is a government initiative, a nation-wide branding campaign named, "In Search of Korea's DNA." The campaign recruited people, both Korean citizens and foreigners, to post photos or videos of what they thought represents the essence of Korea. The government also came up with a national logo, called creative Korea, which eventually led to much criticism for its close resemblance to France's national brand slogan.

As the above example indicates, since 2008, the South Korean government has allocated substantial budgetary and political resources to its nation branding strategy. From cosmetic work (e.g. presidential aircraft carrier design) to cultural policy (spreading

cultural heritage through UNESCO) and political issues (multicultural society), the Presidential Council of Nation Branding, launched by then-president Lee Myung-bak, served as a state apparatus whose work of knowledge production worked to legitimize and sustain nation branding discourse. Among this range of projects, the overseas volunteer program was the first project undertaken by PCNB. The following section illustrates how the volunteer program became defined as a cultural resource by the government.

4.3.4.1. World Friends Korea

Before proceeding to analysis of this program, I consider how the volunteer program became prioritized in the government's nation branding initiative. First, it should be noted that the structure to initiate this program was in place. There were already several ministries and agencies, including KOICA and PCNB, with established volunteer programs. As the Nation Branding White Paper (2012) points out:

With KOICA volunteers, Ministry of the Interior and Safety's overseas Internet youth volunteers, Ministry of Science, Education, and Technology University Volunteers and Techno Peace Corps, among others, 4,230 volunteers deployed to 57 countries Korea already possessed the potential to establish an image of 'South Korea contributing to the international society' (p. 105).

The program required "systematization" and "management" across these many projects. Further, the government welcomed the consolidation of the volunteer programs under one name as an opportunity to address ongoing criticism regarding the highly fragmented structure of Korea's ODA system.

Second, the sizable number of volunteers were seen to be potential "ambassadors" to spread Korea's culture abroad. Pointing out that the number of volunteers sent abroad

each year was the third highest among other government volunteer programs, behind the U.S. Peace Corps and JICA, the Nation Branding White Paper continues: "The current volunteer system in Korea is highly fragmented, all functioning under different names by different government branches, diffusing the brand effect of the nation brand brought about by volunteer programs" (p. 105). Growing critiques of this fragmentation in foreign aid escalated over the years raising concerns with aid effectiveness. Some concerns included transaction costs in recipient areas, (Archarya, de Lima, & Moore, 2006), overlapping initiatives (Accra Agenda for Action, 2008, p. 17), and increased aid delivery costs (Easterly & Williamson, 2011, p. 27). This rhetoric emphasized an interest in maximizing aid effectiveness on the part of Korea as a donor, rather than potential effect for its beneficiaries. As evident in the Council's interest in coordinating the fragmented structure of its volunteer program, we witness again an agenda that promotes national development as a mobilization toward global status.

Furthermore, the volunteer program is integrated into Lee Myung-bak's Global Youth Leadership Program, which was a government initiative designed to tackle growing domestic unemployment by leveraging the international market. The project's goal was to send 100,000 youth to work, learn, and volunteer abroad. Consequently, this Leadership Program co-opted the volunteer program, by promoting state interests in making citizens more globally employable.

Finally, the moral value of volunteering or doing good, was perceived to be favorable to absorb as part of asserting the nation brand. As such, the volunteer program was envisioned strictly in terms of a national agenda to survive in the market-based globalization.

Such training conveys a mechanism of regulating and governing the citizenry under the framework of nation branding. This approach is distinguished from the

previous years, focusing on the self-governing individual, through promoting volunteers as embodying essentialized repertoires of commodified cultural traits.

In all three periods, nationalism in practice is equated with ways of conceptualizing Korea's status as a nation. The notions of citizenship and nationalism, therefore, are in close proximity across the three periods of Korea's recent history. In that sense, Korea's nationalism is based on institutionalized developmental practices. These discourses share a vision that the state has a role in motivating national development and in improving Korea's position in the global hierarchy of nation states. As citizens, Koreans are encouraged to practice self-discipline according to the state developmental agenda.

PCNB's work reflects a new vision of the volunteer program as a cultural practice engaged to promote national interests. As such, volunteer work sits at the forefront of re-constructing the nation in terms of cultural essentialization. Further, the volunteer program becomes a product to be managed and systematized by training volunteers to perform their national identity. The moral and normative definition given to the volunteer program avoids a potentially humanitarian or social justice mission, resonating instead with the strategic goals of the national government.

4.4. There's No There There.

If the modernization period emphasized self-help and diligence as the road to development, the globalization period repeatedly stressed resilience and competence backed by a global mindset. The discourse of development manifested in notions of *geundaehwa* (modernization), *segyehwa* (globalization), and *seonjinhwa* (making advanced) continues to exhort its people toward disciplinary measures to sustain the ideology of development. In this process, the Korean population are produced as national

subjects constrained in the choice and freedom to act outside of the hegemonic understanding of the path toward development.

The socially constructed understanding of the global space in the imagination of the Korean public discourse resembles a step pyramid. At the bottom are the peripheral nations who also exist at the edge of the international network of nation states. The Korean people were reminded frequently that these nation states have very little power over transnational issues, not even to choose their own destinies. Also, they are at the bottom of the stage in economic development and have weak economies. In the discourse of development, this socially constructed understanding of global space and hierarchy prevails. It is ingrained in the mindset of the Korean people as both a source of national pride and of disappointing history, but most of all, it provides a blueprint of progress that they constantly need to move towards.

The Korean government, from the 1960s to our current stage, has presented the same narrative to its people as a national project. Those countries at the bottom, or the periphery were oftentimes invoked as examples by the elite, warning the Korean people of what may become of us if we do not commit ourselves to discipline and growth. But what lies at the top of the ladder, or in the center? The press used political economic symbols such as the G20 and DAC, referring to them as “The seonjinguk club” to describe elite status. However, even as Korea gained a seat as a member in this group, it was still not quite enough to be accepted by the Korean public (nor in the eyes of other nations) as a fully advanced country. The historically constructed discourse created an idealized imaginary of an entity that is a composite of everything that Korea is not. The discourse works to problematize what Korea as a nation and Koreans lack, to identify deficiencies, by using the object, seonjinguk, as the opposing mirror. As the discourse of “seonjinwha” indicates, many times, the characteristic feature, the policy direction,

remains vague and abstract. Furthermore, the imaginary of the stepped pyramid is not just economic. It is also culturally constructed. Although not directly discussed in the press, there is a prevalent assumption in the discourse of seonjinguk that grounds assumptions of racial superiority of the West. The lack of discussion on this is most likely because whiteness is not something that Koreans can embody. As such, to use the words of Gertrude Stein (1937), "There's no there there." The discourse of developmentalism that is still prevalent today serves as a force to govern the people, its power demonstrated in the fact that tens of millions of people join together as national subjects into in a single goal to become advanced, but with no clear imagination of what that may be or how to get there. Nonetheless, the Korean government continues to use development as a discourse to articulate a competitive national identity. In the following chapter, I focus on branding practices of Korea's development aid program, World Friends Korea.

CHAPTER 5. "FRIENDSHIP, HARMONY, AND HAPPINESS FOR ALL": BRANDING WFK AND THE VISUAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE (INTER)NATIONAL

Referring to World Friends Korea (WFK) as a "brand" represents a deep penetration of a market-oriented worldview in public institutions and services. In this chapter, I examine the visual representational practices surrounding WFK by employing Foucault's analytical concept of discursive practices. The first part of the chapter illustrates the social processes and practices by which a set of discursive markers associated with WFK becomes normalized. This is coterminous with what Arvidsson refers to as brand management, which is about "managing the affective dimension of social interaction, making sure that a desired modality of interacting and relating arises" (2007, p. 10). Using interview material and visual texts, I look at how institutionalization of WFK as a brand involves enlisting and managing the volunteers to partake in imagining the national.

The second part of the chapter engages in a close reading of the visual imagery captured by the volunteers during their service abroad. I look at how imaginaries of humanitarianism, such as aesthetized images and the appearance of children, works to depoliticize and domesticate difference. Furthermore, I demonstrate how the volunteers are made into "model citizens" as ambassadors that uphold the national image through "politics of pity" (Boltanski, 1999). Finally, I close the chapter by discussing the problematic of treating public service as a brand where development becomes more valued for its representative power over substance.

5.1. World Friends Korea as the Public Face of Development Aid

Every year, Korea Overseas International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) hosts a photography competition open to former and current WFK volunteers who wish to

showcase their experiences volunteering abroad. An average of 2,000 photos are entered each year, and the handful selected for awards are exhibited via various outlets, including KOICA events and publicity spots. Furthermore, these photos appear in the official WFK website and blog as well as the agency's promotional products, such as pamphlets and calendars. The photo competitions are said to be a part of the agency's public outreach campaign to foster public awareness of international development cooperation, to motivate "Korean citizens to consider the meaning of sharing and volunteering" and encourage their "contribution to the progress of the international society" (Photo book, 2011).

As a government institution, KOICA regularly holds campaigns to reach out to the public to inform them how their tax money is being used to help improve the world and to facilitate consciousness toward global issues. Such public communication venues also work to publicize KOICA, in particular, its volunteer program. The volunteer program is a widely publicized program of KOICA; while the notion of development cooperation remains abstract and elusive to many, volunteering abroad is much more familiar and accessible. Second, volunteering abroad tends to garner more interest among the public as it is participatory in nature. For this reason, it makes a much more persuasive case for the public, to invest in "our people" to become globally competent citizens while helping to improve the conditions of people in developing countries. Finally, the volunteer program has a strong visual quality. Images of young Koreans bonding with people in developing countries and spreading their home culture is very appealing to display to the Korean public.

This chapter delves into precisely this: *Why WFK is so actively publicized by KOICA. What is the symbolic value of the volunteer program*? Particularly, in that the photos are replete with displays of Korea's national culture, they need to be approached

as not only a brand of a development institution but as a national form. I wanted to better understand how these images that adorn KOICA's official documents, reports, publicity spots, online sites, and promotional materials came to be and what their implications might be in terms of shaping the public imaginary of development and the national in relation to the international. In turn, this chapter dissects the visuality of WFK that goes beyond raising awareness of Korea's volunteer work but rather, as "a set of value-based system of meanings" of development and the (inter)national.

Drawing on a range of texts, including interviews with former volunteers, volunteer training material, field notes from volunteer recruitment sessions and publicity sites, and volunteer photos, I illustrate how the visuality surrounding WFK conveys affective moments more so than other projects. Such affective moments, in turn, inscribe affective attachments toward the "distant other." This symbolic mechanism works to construct an image of Korea as a nation that is fulfilling its moral obligation to reach out to the developing world as others, commonly understood to constitute the U.S. and the UN[18], have once willingly done for Korea.

Using Malkki's conceptualization of "romantic internationalism" (Malkki, 1994, p. 49), I demonstrate how the visuality of WFK projects a sentimentalized imaginary of a common humanity. I first examine how certain iconic images depicting common humanity become attached to WFK. This involves tracing practices through which a range of signifying vocabularies, images, and feelings associated with WFK becomes normalized and sustained over time. I draw on Foucault's concept of discipline (1977) to illustrate how the producers of the visual images, the volunteers, familiarize with and naturalize this repertoire of representative signifiers to convey their experiences abroad.

[18] Although much of post-WWII foreign aid to Korea came from the U.S., in fact, many countries that had once come to Korea's aid remain outside of public discourse. These countries include Tanzania and Ethiopia but are left out as they do not neatly fit into Korea's dominant narrative of development.

Then I engage in a close reading of the photos themselves, illustrating how the visual practices of WFK construct romanticized internationalism that evokes the value of common humanity. Immaterial qualities of friendship, sharing, and happiness are embodied as a value for which the nation stands and promotes. Such imagery of common humanity goes hand-in-hand with representation of the national through profuse appearance of national cultural symbols. The volunteers are portrayed as ambassadors of the nation, spreading the values and culture of Korea to the world. The chapter goes onto discuss the conflicting nature and the limitation of visualizing such idealized imaginary of internationalism, which celebrates difference as constituting parts of humanity as a whole ("difference is nothing"), while engaging in hierarchical ordering. Furthermore, in engaging in "politics of pity," the national subject is made into a model citizen who is globally competent and at the same time, grateful toward her/his country.

5.2. Internationalism as a Cultural Construct

In Citizens of humanity, Lisa Malkki (1994) provides a multifaceted illustration of internationalism as a cultural form for imagining a World Community of Nations where globality is understood as being organized by "interrelationship among discrete nations" (p. 41). Drawing on Anderson's imagined community, Malkki traces the processes and practices that celebrates an "egalitarian brotherhood or sisterhood of nations" based on a discourse of common humanity, creating an idea of "romantic internationalism." Taking a variety of examples, such as the United Nations, the Olympic Games, Miss Universe beauty pageants, and the Disneyland ride, "It's a Small World After All," Malkki illustrates how they are based on "stage-managing" human diversity as a category that creates a shared vision of humanity. Amidst the celebration of diversity, unequal relations of power are erased and differences are domesticated

according to the rules of the powerful. In this vein, internationalism is a "transnational cultural form for imagining and ordering difference among people" (p. 41).

Nation branding can be fruitfully seen as a continuation of such global social organization of cultural internationalism, fueled by market-driven globalization. Globalization has been accompanied by a resurgence in nationalism and a reconfiguration of national identity (Iwabuchi, 2015; Volcic & Andrejevic, 2016b). The market-driven characteristic of globalization "makes the nation function as one of the most marketable localities of globalization, a unit of commercialized and standardized cultural diversity that is to be promoted" (Iwabuchi, 2015, p. 4). In nation branding, the nation is approached as an equivalent of a brand, and a range of cultural meanings, together which constitute a coherent national brand, are inscribed into a variegated range of public forms. As a form of cultural internationalism, nation branding assumes an equal status for each country. In fact, nation branding is seen to be "democratic" in that it places each nation with a similar narrative, as competing over who claims the most compelling story. In fact, nation branding professionals assert that "problems of underdevelopment, especially in Africa, are in part caused by the negative branding of the developing world by the developed world whereby the developing world is depicted as a hopeless basket case, fit for charity but not for investment" (Browning, 2016, p. 51). To resolve this problem, the developing world needs to take control of its own image through concerted efforts of nation and regional branding. What is noteworthy about this claim is that in positing narrative construction as a form of technical expertise to facilitate development, cultural mediation is foregrounded as having material impact in development. In the case of Korea, the negative image associated with its geopolitical insecurity and domestic labor protests were strategized to be offset by an enhanced international moral standing of the country.

I argue that branding WFK draws on the discourse of romanticized internationalism that involves aestheticization through the use of bright colors, depoliticization through the appearance of children (over adults) as the main figurative, and decontextualization of the host's social and cultural background that reduces differences to skin tones and symbolic varieties such as dress codes, flags, and food. Such associations position Korea as a culturally rich country whose cultural elements transcend national borders to connect people together. However, within the discourse of common humanity surfaces steep hierarchical categorizations. This takes place by leaving out any other possibilities of expressing the international and the national.

5.3. Visuality as Discourse

If discourse is a particular arrangement of language and text with its own rules and conventions that shape how we make sense of the world around us and our subject positions in society, then visuality as a discourse involves articulation of such language through visual means. Visuality plays a powerful role in shaping the public imaginary. As a cultural product, visuality involves practices that set the parameters of "how we see, how we are able, allowed, or made to see" (Rose, 2016, p. 136). Therefore, a specific visuality will "make certain things visible in particular ways, and other things unseeable…" (Rose, p. 137).

According to Foucault who has informed an understanding of how discourse works, discourse consists of "practices that systematically form the objects of which we speak" (1972, p. 49). Foucault's work enables us to examine the rules of formation, the rituals, and the procedures which enable and limit practices of meaning making.

This chapter begins by looking at how the volunteers are cultivated and socialized to the rules and conventions of the photographic elements and learn to evaluate the

overall composition of images that are considered worthy of being captured and those that do not "quite fit." I include a range of practices that produce the particular visuality, from coming to recognize the rules and conventions to cultivating the habit of how to take and what to capture in the images. I also look at the mechanisms through which production of such visuality is encouraged and reinforced.

The practice of producing the images are analyzed through interviews with two previous university volunteers who were in charge of publicity as well as based on my field notes from WFK public campaigns and volunteer recruitment sessions. Documents such as pre-departure training materials were also consulted as supplementary material. The photos that are examined consist of those that have been selected for awards in the annual KOICA photo competition from 2009, the year that WFK was launched, through 2013. These photos have been compiled and published into a collection of books over the years. The time frame of study is selected because these are the years during which the photos were published in book forms. Having the photos available as a compilation by year, I avoided having to scavenge for the photos from different channels, thereby eliminating the possibility of leaving some out. While the time frame is limited to five years, it should be pointed out that the representational conventions and the dominant narratives of the photos have remained consistent even in subsequent years.

5.3.1. PHOTOS AS TEXT

The main text under analysis consist of a collection of award-winning photos in the annual photo contest hosted by KOICA. These photos are taken by volunteers during their services abroad and depict their experiences on the field. Once awarded, these photos are considered as the intellectual property of KOICA and are used a source of public images in various outlets, including the agency's official website, and are

exhibited in publicity spots and campaigns. For example, the photo below, selected for a top photo award in 2013, appears in the WFK website below.

Figure 1. What is happiness in Korean? (Park, 2013)

The same photo can be found in World Friends Village publicity hall located in the WFK pre-departure training center, shown below (top row, third from the left).

Figure 2. World Friends Korea Official Website (2017)

Figure 3. World Friends Korea Publicity Center, World Friends Village, Korea. (Taken by author, 2017)

I analyzed a total of 115 photos awarded in the annual KOICA photo contest between 2009 and 2013. Table 1 shows the number of photos broken down by year (20 photos from 2009, 31 photos from 2010, 17 photos in 2011, 21 photos in 2012, and 23 photos in 2013).

Table 4. Number of photos by year

Year	**Photos**
2009	20
2010	31
2011	17
2012	21
2013	23
Total	**115**

Next, I consider photos by their location, theme, and image composition. The photos were taken across 32 different countries, with Cambodia (n=15), Senegal (n=11), Laos (n=11), and Ethiopia (n=8) appearing the most frequently. These four countries constitute the setting of 40 percent of the photos. The themes of the photos were coded by identifying the activities in which the volunteers and the host nationals were engaged, and they were then grouped into categories. The themes listed below constitute 80 percent of the photos under analysis. A brief description of eight most prominent themes is provided below.

- Group photo (14%)

By far, the most frequently appearing theme is the group photo, in which host country children and volunteers are posing in front of the camera. Mostly taken in school settings, these photos frequently depict children holding up and displaying their arts and crafts. The expressions of the volunteers and the host, comprised of school children in all of the photos, reflect joy and happiness as they are caught in the photo amidst playful gestures and expressions. The WFK logo features prominently in these photos. In many, children are holding up pieces of papers together which read "World Friends Korea." In some, children have paintings on their faces and bodies. The staging of bright colors and props that convey cheerfulness are juxtaposed against markers of difference in the background such as the red earth and the stone wall, as well as the skin color of children. These images convey volunteering as an adventurous but a "safe" venturing that involves working with "poor but happy" host rather than those who are suffering or potentially dangerous.

- Class instruction (11%)

Class instruction consists of images of classroom teaching and learning. Photos within this theme address interventions in lack of educational hardware and software.

These scenes depict students engaged in learning with educational tools, including textbooks, desks, and computers provided by WFK. Photos also visualize pedagogy, where volunteers are teaching the Korean alphabet, art classes or dances from Korean children's songs. The frequency of which classroom education is featured reflects the high percentage of volunteers assigned to primary and secondary educational facilities. However, in foregrounding the universal right to learn as well as the performative aspects of these photos depicted in interaction and bonding among volunteers and students, moments engrossed in teaching and learning, highlight seemingly innocent nature of the intervention taking place. It diverts attention from considering the ideology behind the intervention rooted in national interests.

- Promotion of hygiene (9%)

Photos that belong to the theme of hygiene consist of volunteers teaching host country children about cleanliness, personal hygiene, and health. Some examples include a photo of a volunteer and host children brushing their teeth, a volunteer helping children wash their hair and hands, and a volunteer holding up a hand-drawn poster that illustrates germs inside a mouth and talking to a class of students about the importance of brushing their teeth. Health promotion education is frequently undertaken by volunteers because the generic information provided related to basic sanitation does not require professional skills or knowledge in health. Along with the education theme, health campaigns comprise a commonly depicted communication for development project. At times, sanitation and health campaigns are held in conjunction with medical check-ups provided by KOICA medical volunteers.

- Medical care (10%)

Images of medical care depict a doctor giving a medical checkup or treating patients. What is noteworthy about images of medical care is that many of these photos

use the words “serve,” “compassion,” “willingly give,” or “heal” in their title, alluding to self-sacrifice that invoke the imagery of a religious figure such as Mother Theresa, or more recently, Father Lee Tae-seok, a Korean priest who is revered by the Korean public for his devotion to caring for the victims of leprosy and street children in Sudan before passing away from cancer. Photos depicting medical care draw on such selflessness and sacrifice of humanitarianism.

- Sports activities (10%)

Sports activities include photos in which volunteers and the host are engaged in various sporting games, such as the tug-of-war, the three legged-race, and hurdling. A photo appearing frequently in WFK’s various promotional material entitled “Difference is nothing” (2010) depicts a Korean volunteer sprinting side-by-side with a host national who is without both legs pushing himself on a wheelchair across a track field. This photo conveys a powerful narrative about common humanity through the use of sports. In engaging rhetorical tools of cooperation, teamwork, and the spirit of sportsmanship, these photos depoliticize development and difference.

- Taekwondo Training (11%)

Scenes of Taekwondo are distinguished from sports activity theme because of the difference in symbolic meaning associated with Taekwondo, a Korean martial art. Officially introduced as an Olympic sport in the 1988 Olympics hosted by Korea, Taekwondo has gained traction globally and continues to be a key cultural element instrumentalized to promote the country’s national image. The images include a Korean Taekwondo volunteer demonstrating moves to a group of students. Photos commonly discuss Taekwondo as an embodiment of Korean spirit. A photo depicting a Taekwondo training session is described as, “To Taekwondo master’s question, “What is most important in Taekwondo?” athletes respond, “Etiquette!” Volunteer Kim Byung Eun was

not only teaching the students Taekwondo but about being Korean that is melted into Taekwondo" (Taekwondo Fever in Vietnam's Tỉnh Thanh Hóa Sports Center, 2010). Scenes depicting Taekwondo not only take an overtly nationalistic narrative but it is depicted as a vehicle by which to bring together people across the world. A photo entitled "KOICA, transcending difference, spreading Taekwondo to the world" depicts an Egyptian girl wearing a hijab and a taekwondo uniform doing a split on the grass against the setting sun. Like this photo, images oftentimes draw on stereotypical markers of difference such as the hijab in juxtaposition to Korea's cultural commodity, which serve as rhetorical tools in narratives of globalization.

- Promotion of tradition (8%)

Photos categorized in the promotion of tradition theme depict scenes where the volunteer and host are experiencing Korea's traditional customs, such as wearing a *hanbok*, traditional Korean attire, and doing *jeol*[19]. Other photos depict host people having a taste of *kimchi*, a side dish made from salted and fermented cabbage, and playing Korean musical instruments. Cultural promotion of visually oriented and commodifiable elements in fact, echoes the broader nation branding strategy of the government. Cultural training that orients volunteers to their role as cultural mediators is given emphasis throughout volunteer pre-departure training and it is carried out by volunteers during their service abroad.

- Transfer of resources (9%)

Volunteering in itself is a form of transfer of resources in the form of human, social, and cultural capital. Therefore, while all photos involve transfer of some kind of resource, here I am specifically referring to those photos whose focal point is an

[19] Jeol, which represents a Confucian ritual of honoring one's ancestors, consists of a process of getting down on both knees and lowering one's head toward the floor.

infrastructural facility such as the water pump or a computer lab that is installed with financial support of KOICA. Included in this theme is a photo of a volunteer with her hands around a little boy smiling caringly in a playground while the little boy is rocking intently on a spring rider horse, whose rather awkward gesture signals that it is his first time on such a ride. Painted on the surface is the sign KOICA. Another example is a Bangladeshi girl intently stitching fabric on a sewing machine patched with the sign KOICA. The photo entitled "Tomorrow will be Sunny," inscribes a sense of hope, which, as will be further discussed, comes up over and over again in the photos. These photos invoke gratification on the part of the viewer and work as an accountability to the citizens of the country, as they leave clear and tangible evidence of KOICA's work.

Upon identifying the themes, I paid close attention to the image composition, coding for who serves as the central figure, what they are doing in relation to one another, and objects of emphasis. I identified the focal point and the background, or the setting of the photo. A close reading of the composition enabled me to read beyond what volunteer activities are being presented to read into how certain figures, objects, the gaze, and the expression of the subjects reveal about relationships between the volunteers and the host. The analysis is supplemented by captions when available, as well as other volunteer texts such as essays written by volunteers.

5.4. Cultivating Ways of Seeing

In this section, I explicate how the volunteers come to recognize and naturalize the conventions and language of volunteer photos, and how a range of practices work to sustain immaterial qualities that form the basis of the value of WFK. This includes volunteer training and photo award ceremonies, through which the organization manages and steers how meaning is produced.

All volunteers are obligated to undergo pre-departure training. Although the courses offered in the training differs depending on the particular program to which the volunteers belong, most are given some kind of publicity training, whether it may be "Capturing Images on Mobile Device," "Video Production," or "Blogging" (2017 Training Plan, 2017). University volunteers under the name of WFK KUCSS[20] undertake volunteer work in teams of four to five members. In each team, one volunteer is given the responsibility of publicity, which includes uploading photos and postings on Facebook and the WFK blog each month. These volunteers undergo job training specific to publicity during which they are provided with technical guidance on photography and blogging as well as instructions on the content of the photos. Han, a former university volunteer who spent six months in Myanmar, describes her role in publicity.

> We take photos and write articles everyday about the things we do on the field, the kinds of activities we engage in with the children … and these are the kinds of things we capture in photos. [During training], the instructor tells us what kind of photos are appropriate (interviewee quickly changes her word to), recommended, recommended poses, things like that. We are even taught about grammar. Apparently, there are many people with poor command of grammar. They instruct us on things like that. But there is no set frame. It's pretty much up to us to decide what we write or how to write.

When I asked further about the kinds of images that were recommended by the instructors, it became apparent that certain elements were circumscribed in relation to the content of the photos that were to be shared publicly on the agency's channels of communication.

> Our t-shirt has a KOICA logo here (pointing to the left arm) and KUCSS here (pointing to the right arm) and on our vests, there is the Korean flag on it … When we're commuting to work or when taking photos, we're advised to have the proper attire on … and in all photos, to show the Korean flag on the vest. Photos of activities where we're not wearing the uniform, those photos are not

[20] World Friends Korea-Korea University Council for Social Service

> recommended to be posted online. So basically, if the uniform is visible and the flag is clear, and on top of that, if the picture reflects a moment of bonding between the volunteer and the children, now that is the best picture.

In being instructed to always capture the Korean flag in the photo, the volunteers are from the outset explicitly taught that the photos are to be representative articulations of the nation. Symbols of the nation and the agency constitute the most important element in these photos. Soh, a former university volunteer who had served in Bangladesh, pointed out that he received guidelines on the kinds of photos that are to be shared. He told that on condition that the volunteers adhere to a code of conduct, they received a certificate recognizing their service as blog reporters after completing their volunteer work. According to Soh, the volunteers are specifically asked to post photos that display institutional logos and to prioritize in the order of the Korean flag, WFK, KOICA, and KUCSS. Furthermore, photos need to show volunteers wearing their vests distributed by the agency during pre-departure training. The organizational and national symbols attached to their attire are a constant reminder that the volunteer are, more than anything else, national constituents.

What is also noteworthy is Han's emphasis on the "moment of bonding" as her definition of what counts as an ideal photo. As such, volunteers were cultivated to recognize and understand what visual composition "counts" as being picture worthy. In addition to pre-departure training, such norms and language of an ideal imagery were reinforced through award ceremonies of the photos. When I asked Han if she can give me an example of the "best picture," she referenced a photo that had won an award among her year of volunteers.

> The photo that won first place was by a girl who was in Myanmar, too. Towards the end of her service, she had an exhibition showcasing activities she did with her students in the pre-school where she worked. On one side of the wall, there were rows of photos of her students, and as she was reaching out to take the photo

> as a keepsake of her memory with her students, the moment was captured in the photo. The photo came out really nice and so did the logos. The lighting effect was good, too. These photos are awarded during the closing ceremony and they are used as ads in the KUCSS website and posters.

In selecting and awarding the best photos, the recommended composition of the images became conventions and the norm. Volunteers learned to "read" these affective moments, identifying the contrast in light and darkness, expressions of the figures, and non-verbal cues such as eye contact and bodily contact that comprised "moments of bonding." As these award-winning photos were circulated through various channels of communication, they became normalized.

Recruiting volunteers to partake in such promotional initiatives aligns well with nation branding's reliance on enlisting citizen population to create and publicize the nation (Volcic & Andrejevic, 2011). By consolidating nation branding interests with the international volunteering program positions, Korean volunteers are not only positioned as change agents but also cultural intermediaries. Among supporters of nation branding, mobilizing ordinary citizens is upheld to be participatory and democratic in that it lives out the public sphere thesis by taking account of a plurality of voices about nationhood (Anholt, 2007). However, critical engagement with nation branding projects have demonstrated the restrictive nature of the management and control process through a narrow selection process of participants and enforcement of self-censorship by the participants (Christensen, 2011). Likewise, exposure to the training and code of conduct, awards ceremonies, and publicly available photos serve to shape the ways in which the volunteers engage in capturing scenes of their volunteer activities.

The material outcome of such a disciplining mechanism is evident in the shifting narrative of the photos from 2009 to those from 2010 and onwards. The following section conducts an analysis comparing images of photos from 2009 and those from subsequent

years. It should be noted that the selection of photos published in the 2009 photo book were actually submitted in 2008, meaning that these photos were taken during or prior to 2008, before WFK was launched. I intend to demonstrate the contrast in the narratives of photos taken before and after the founding of WFK. In so doing, I show how construction of particular visuality works to institutionalize WFK as a brand identity.

5.5. Deconstructing brand WFK

Looking at the imagery captured in the photos in this time period, the difference in content and form of the photos published in 2009 to those from subsequent years was substantial. The most noteworthy is that the volunteer program is less associated as a national form in photos from the 2009 publication. National or institutional logos did not constitute a focal point in the photos. In nine out of 20 photos (45%), there was no presence of any markers of the nation, and even when national symbols appear, they remain outside the focal point or parts of the logo are hidden from view. This is a stark contrast from images from subsequent years (2010-2013), in which national and institutional logos appear across the majority of the photos (n=92). Moreover, the volunteers are less likely to constitute a central figure in photos from the 2009 photo collection. In only six photos (30%), a full figure of the volunteer is present. Volunteers are left outside of the frame in many of the photos (n=8, 40%) or they are hidden from direct view where their backside or only parts of their body appear in the photos.

5.5.1. In Whose Words? Voice in Visuality

What is shown in the focal point and what constitutes the background says much about the visual rhetoric. Figures 4 and 5 show photos that were taken during recovery work in the aftermath of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake, whose enormous magnitude led to

about 70,000 people killed and over 18,000 missing (Taylor, 2013). Figure 4 was taken by a KOICA employee who led the International Rescue Team to the affected area. It shows two crying women whose expression captures anguish and hopelessness from their loss. The hand of the Korean volunteer reaching out to the victim in the photo is that of an interpreter. Figure 5 was taken about a year later, during which a volunteer participated in a house-building project for the people who lost homes to the earthquake. Figure 4 is powerful for its ability to convey powerful emotions. Here, the focal point is the victims of the earthquake. The light shining on the women personalizes human suffering and loss in the face of natural disaster. Although we do not see the actual physical damages caused by the earthquake nor the chaos and casualty shortly after a deadly natural disaster, the photo is powerful for its ability to connect with the viewers the human grief and loss that the victims face. While the face of the Korean volunteer is not visible, the nation's presence is nonetheless emphasized by the light shining down on the arm reaching out to the victims, which leads the eye of the gazer to the Korean flag. Here, we see that by the way that the volunteer's hand is placed on the arm of the local, is consoling the pain.

Figure 4. Anguish. (Lee, 2008)

Figure 5 takes place slightly more than a year after the earthquake, when a volunteer took part on a construction project that involved building homes for the victims of the earthquake. In this photo, the focal point is the three volunteers, set against a brick wall. There are no local residents present in the photo. The only other person is in the background, presumably a professional bricklayer at work, but his face is hidden from view. The volunteers' white t-shirts with the WFK logo stand out against a background of red bricks. The description of the photo states, "The future residents of the home came by and spoke with us smiling. At that moment, I was touched, realizing that our small gesture of love can give them hope. The work was physically exhausting but the volunteers all wore smiles as they moved the bricks and cements."

Figure 5. Building a home of happiness. (Chung, 2010)

The narrative presented in the description is consistent with the photo in that it tells a story from the perspective of the volunteer. She states that building this house was exhausting, but her hard work gave the residents hope and happiness. Was this house indeed a source of hope and happiness for the residents? We do not know. The focal point here is not the victims' experience of being presented with a home, but the volunteer's sense of gratification and empowerment. The notions of hope and happiness serve to highlight and justify the volunteers' commitment toward the greater good. The spreading of hope and happiness, in turn, becomes associated with WFK. Of course, it should be acknowledged that the different nature of the activities engaged by the volunteers is the result of the point of time in which the volunteers were on the affected site. Still, comparing the focal points and the emotions inscribed demonstrate a shift in the narrative of the photos.

As such, joy, happiness, and hope comprise prominent discursive tools from 2010 and onwards. In fact, not a single photo from 2010 to 2013 portrays a negative mood or emotion. Figure 6 appears in the 2012 photo book of a Korean Peacekeeping operations soldier in Haiti. In the photo, he is locking hands with a little boy.

Figure 6. Operation Danbi. (2012)

The boy's back is turned toward the camera, face invisible. However, from the outline of the boy's face slightly to the side, we can see that the soldier and the boy are looking at each other and smiling. The caption reads, "Our soldier, deployed in UN PKO peacekeeping mission for the reconstruction of the Haiti government, defends human rights, fights against poverty and crime, and creates a safe environment. The photo depicts our military, 'Operation Danbi,' and its commitment to the mission." (photobook, 2012). Figure 6 erases from its frame not only the people who are affected by the natural disaster but also what the reconstruction efforts involve. We do not see depictions of human loss, sorrow, or danger, as the caption connotes in the kind of work the soldier undertakes. Instead, the photo depicts a sentimentalized imagery that foregrounds the innocence and helplessness of a child and friendly paternalism of the soldier. Such

imagery strips the political, and many times, the violent nature of reconstruction work. A primary way in which aid work is sentimentalized is in using children as the main figurative.

In fact, appearance of children is nearly ubiquitous in the photos from 2010 onwards, while in 2009, 6 photos (30%) feature an adult(s) as the main subject. In photos from 2010 to 2013, adults are present in only 4 photos (4%). Out of the four photos, three are comprised of scenes where adults appear in the background, for example, mothers queuing in a temporary medical clinic as a KOICA medical worker is administering a check-up on a child. During this time period, only one photo (1%) centers on adults, depicting four farmers and a Korean volunteer proudly displaying mushrooms that they had grown ("Come to Fruition," 2013). All others feature infants, children, youth, and to a much lesser extent, young adults as main subjects.

It should be pointed out that by comparing the photos from 2009 to those included in photo collections of subsequent years, I am not trying to say that the photos from 2009 subvert the dominant imagery of development that pervades in visual imagery. Rather, what I have tried to convey is the institutionalization process through which WFK becomes identified with a brand, through shifts in the visual language of award-winning photos selected before and after the launching of brand WFK. Photos from the 2009 collection do not necessarily seek to subvert the dominant imaginary of development. However, they do diverge from photos from subsequent years in the way that the host comprises the main subject of the photos, less emphasis on cultural promotion, appearance of adults as well as children, and affective discourse that is more diverse than consistent.

In the following section, I conduct a close reading of the visual imagery captured by the volunteers during their service abroad. I illuminate how the national and

international constitute one another in the imagery of the photos that while celebrating common humanity through messages like happiness, friendship, and hope, these photos, at the same time, render visible hierarchical categories drawn along lines of nation, skin color, and culture.

5.5.2. "THE COLOR OF US": PERFORMING BRAND WORLD FRIENDS KOREA

> The differences in language and skin color was not a problem for us. After all, we are all people inhabiting the planet earth, our red blood with warmth and love. … The expression of the children is naturally full of innocence and goodness that I did not need to ask for any staged poses for the photo. ... The world may still be at war, people killing each other due to religious and ideological difference. But in the moment that we were hand-in-hand, the world was filled with peace. Even though we are now far apart in distance, we still sing the song of love and peace, our hands holding tight
>
> Smile, laughter, and tears, 2010

> I'd like to buy the world a home and furnish it with love,
> Grow apple trees and honey bees, and snow white turtle doves.
> I'd like to teach the world to sing in perfect harmony,
> I'd like to buy the world a Coke and keep it company.
> It's the real thing, Coke is what the world wants today.
>
> "I'd like to buy the world a Coke,", 1971

The first quote above is a description of a photo that was taken by a former volunteer in Nepal. Cultural difference and geographical distance between the people are seen to be something trivial and insignificant, overridden by shared humanity. The caption illustrates co-existence based on love and peace, and in depicting Korean volunteers hand-in-hand with the host people, the ability to create connections and friendship in and through Korea's commitment to make the world a better place. I find the description of the photo to be strikingly similar to the second quote, the lyrics to a famous Coca-Cola commercial. Just as a bottle of Coke is envisioned to bring peace and harmony by connecting the world, which is depicted by young people of different race

wearing traditional attire, the volunteer photos show the country's cultural elements as a source of bringing the volunteer and the host people together. The similarity in the metaphorical allegory points to the consistency in the logic of the two narratives. Both Coca-Cola and WFK are envisioned as vehicles through which to bring people together under the name of common humanity. And both Coca-Cola and WFK become embodied forms of such symbols, over and above their substance. The value of WFK as a brand lies not so much in the kinds of development practices volunteers engage in and how they bring about change, but in managing the symbolic associations, which forms a basis to sustain a relationship with the wider Korean public.

In this section, I illustrate how the volunteer photos present a depoliticized and domesticated understanding and logic of the international. I do so by looking at the use of colors as symbolic representation of internationalism, children as the main figurative, and decontextualization of the setting.

In particular, I look at how the discursive tools of internationalism gain capital in a way that a brand becomes a product of certain embedded emotions and values. Particularly useful is looking at photos that have gained more traction by being advertised on various publicity outlets of KOICA. They perform the same function as the logo of WFK, which is embedded with certain meanings and emotions. These photos, in essence, are enacting brand "World Friends Korea," or Korea making friends with the world. The WFK logo depicts a flower with five petals in different color and the center that is a circular shape of red and blue (figure 7). The petals are said to symbolize "the five continents surrounding the world in the middle" (WFK website, 2014). However, the petals can also be interpreted as people from the five different continents holding hands, and although the center allegedly represents "the world," the center circle, which depicts the yin and yang, closely resembles the center of the Korean flag. The logo's connotation

of a common humanity and egalitarian diversity represented through different colors of the petals/people evokes a version of internationalism that is akin to what Malkki (1994) calls romantic internationalism.

Figure 7. WFK Logo

In WFK, Korea is situated at the center, making friends with the world. Figures 8 and 9 perform the logo of WFK, depicting the flower or a circle of students hand-in-hand. For example, the caption of the photo below reads, “Even though we are from different backgrounds and there is a language barrier, bonding is simple. All we need is the heart to embrace one another and smile together, cheek-to-cheek” (The Most Beautiful Flower in the World, 2011). Such messages work to reinforce the kind of egalitarian internationalism of common humanity premised in WFK brand.

Figure 8. The Most Beautiful Flower in the World (Noh, 2011)

The photos depict playful, smiling faces of children, volunteers and children chatting and laughing together, volunteers painting the faces of children, students locking hands walking in circles, and children and volunteers holding up letter-sized papers that together, make up the words "World Friends Korea." The photos are very colorful, as they frequently include artworks and logos related to WFK and Korea's cultural elements. In many of the photos, the agency's logo stands out visibly, as the bodies of the volunteers and host children are used as advertising and branding devices. Oftentimes, the bright colors of the WFK logo stand out in contrast to the darker skin tones of host children as the children are "branded" with WFK logo in its most literal definition, their bodies colored with face paint. While this problematic in many ways, the smiles and playfulness of the children make it a seemingly innocent and compassionate act.

Figure 9. Hello friends, we are pleasant children in Ethiopia (Park, 2010)

In the following section, I will illustrate how internationalism is further romanticized created through domestication of differences. Specifically, I look at the use

of children as the main figurative and decontextualization of the host country in the images. Such domestication works to gloss over the political nature of development volunteering leaving unquestioned the structural forces at play behind inequality and human suffering.

5.5.3. **DOMESTICATING DIFFERENCE**

It should be acknowledged that an overwhelming majority of the photos featuring children as comprising the host is due to the large proportion of volunteers being assigned to schools. However, even taking this factor into consideration, the overall percentage of photos that feature children as the central figure far outweighs the percentage of volunteers assigned to schools. While volunteers are sent to municipal centers, agricultural facilities, libraries, and universities, these scenes hardly ever appear in the photos. These settings are featured in only five out of 95 photos between 2010 and 2013.

Numerous studies on representations of humanitarian aid have critically engaged with representations of children (Abidin, 2017; Fehrenbach & Rodogno, 2015a; Manzo, 2008; Moeller, 2002; Seu, 2015). Children are seen as an embodiment of purity, innocence, and human goodness (Mallkki, 2015). In making a persuasive case for humanity, children tend to evoke sympathy rather than active, political action (Manzo, 2008). In this way, the sentimental response neutralizes the political response that the amelioration of poverty and structural violence against the poor necessitates. In turn, the child is often made to appear as the exemplary human, and as politically harmless and neutral. In the following section, I will analyze the following in depth: Children as being close to nature, and second, children as embodiment of innocence and human goodness.

In many volunteer photos, children were placed against pristine nature. The pristine nature is depicted in the greenery of the land and the blueness of the sky. The background emphasizes the innocence and the natural state of the children. At the same time, depicting children as a part of nature places them outside of specific political or cultural context. There is an absence of specificity in the photos. Other than certain markers such as hints of tropical vegetation (palm trees) or the rusty red of the African soil, it is very difficult to differentiate the location of one photo from another.

Although brief descriptions of the photos indicate the country and in some photo books, the precise location in which the photo was taken, the visual information in the imagery foregrounds Korea in the international in and through decontextualization of the host. The host is reducing to imagery of a distant place, marked by darker skin tones of the children, pristine nature, and a few symbolic markers that work to exoticize the other, such as a girl wearing a hijab.

Noteworthy here is that the children in these photos are all smiling or immersed in some kind of activity. Rarely are there any signs of suffering or poverty other than babies being treated by Korean doctors or nurses. This stands in contrast to analysis of visual imagery of children in humanitarian NGO campaigns. This can be thought of in relation to the purpose and goal of the photos. WFK photos target the Korean public whose tax money goes to development aid. Therefore, the agency is accountable to the public to deliver the outcomes of public funds as well as to foster awareness and interest in development. As such, the photos tend to depict outcome-oriented scenes to illustrate how foreign aid was used.

Here, a point to note is that as constituents of a state-sponsored program, volunteers represent not only development actors but also beneficiaries of Korea's public diplomacy. Therefore, the photos show how volunteers themselves benefitted from this

experience, which is mostly visualized in terms of gratification expressed by volunteers in bonding with the host and in learning the values of compassion and altruism. On the other hand, NGO images tend to draw on human suffering in a way that appeals to the moral consciousness of people to mobilize action through donation and volunteering, among other commitments (Fehrenbach & Rodogno, 2015b). The contrast demonstrates the ways in which children are appropriated as rhetorical tools in a way that serves the interests of the respective institutions.

The lack of context in the background works to create the image of the host as being a "tabula rasa"; unspoiled, innocent, and at the same time, absent of local history, politics, and culture. Decontextualization of place results in depoliticization of the development volunteer work. When a place is perceived to be empty of any kind of cultural or political context, such lack, in turn, legitimizes the work of the Korean volunteers, and makes the imposition of national symbols less invasive. In the photos, these children are happily engaged in playing Korean games, learning Korean, painting WFK logo, and immersed in learning *Taekwondo*. Their inviting smiles make the cultural project of Korea invisible not only in terms of the conditions of human suffering, but also the unequal flows of cultural exchange.

For the very few photos where the local cultural elements are featured, what is interesting is that their "otherness" is seen to be overcome through the spreading and sharing of Korean culture. For example, figure 11 shows a girl wearing a hijab and a Taekwondo uniform stretching her legs. The description reads, "I look at the girls always wearing the hijab even as they are covered in sweat, and I cannot but realize the cultural difference. But that day, as I stood there taking pictures, the sounds of 'hana! Tul!' [one, two, in Korean] coming from these students made me feel closer to them, transcending

those differences…" It is not through mutual understanding, but through imposition of the Korean culture that connection and bonding take place.

Figure 10. KOICA, transcending difference, spreading Taekwondo to the world (Cho, 2010)

Although the images erase political interest and exclude structural forces of inequality in order to project a version of internationalism as egalitarian and humanistic, they paradoxically end up re-creating hierarchies and an ordered worldview. The host is infantilized, and therefore in need of paternal or maternal care. Second, the host is presented as culturally lacking or irrational while Korea is conceived as a culturally rich and attractive. Thus, although the WFK brand embodies values of egalitarianism, the contradictions within are not ruled out and they surface in the photos.

5.6. Cultivating Model Citizens

To maintain its legitimacy, the neoliberal nation-state must produce a particular type of national subject (Lemke, 2016)**.** With the high rate of unemployment among university students, social expressions such as *ingyeoingan*, directly translated into English as surplus human[21], and "hell Joseon" pervade the social sentiment of Korea in contemporary times. It is reflective of the argument posed by Zygmunt Bauman (2013), who in his work, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its outcasts*, discusses the redundant population who are no longer considered necessary as consumers or producers. In order to deal with the aggravating social conditions for the youth population, the government has been pushing young people to enhance their "global competency" to find work abroad. KOICA, in university publicity campaigns, introduces it as a "stepping stone to reach out to the world," and publicizes how it opens opportunity for jobs abroad. In line with this discourse, the photos feature Korean youth who are engaged in IT training, engineering (job training), teaching Taekwondo, conducting a science experiment, and teaching English and Korean language. They are creative and resourceful in terms of working with limited material and resilient in terms of being flexible in unexpected situations that frequently arise on the field. Depicting volunteers as youthful, resilient, compassionate, and exuding positive energy fit well into what Korea as a nation aspires to be identified with: culturally attractive, non-threatening, and with youthful energy. The photos also work to create a sense of the youthful subject as a forward-looking individual who not only helps to make the future for the host but also is in charge of making a future for her/himself.

[21] The term surplus human first appeared through a fiction written by Sohn Changsub entitled ingyeoingan (Surplus human). Written in the 1950s against the backdrop of the societal chaos following the Korean War, the story explores different characters who fail to adjust to the realities of life and are alienated and disempowered.

These youth, along with the children in host countries, work to construct an understanding of internationalism as a youthful phenomenon, that embodies innovative, resilient, and driven – characteristics commonly associated with of the image of the youth, in contrast to the older generation as dogmatic and backward-looking. What is noteworthy is that since the launching of WFK, the program as a whole has been substantially increasing the number of senior volunteers for their expertise in various sectors. However, senior volunteers are hardly featured in any of the photos, other than one photo that features two senior volunteers posing with children behind what is seen as a newly installed water pump. In fact, many nations foreground its "youthfulness" as the main slogan of its nation branding campaign. Kosovo's "Kosovo: The Young Europeans" campaign places at the forefront the youthfulness of the country as the main tagline. The positive emotions associated with youth formed the key strategic insight that gave focus to the entire campaign (Wählisch & Xharra, 2010, cited in Kaneva, 2018). Thus, along with the children of the host countries, the Korean youth volunteers constitute a subject in the narrative of romanticized internationalism.

What is noteworthy is how youth volunteers not only form a part of this romanticized internationalism, but also how their romanticized nationalism becomes inscribed in volunteer-related texts. Essays written by volunteers oftentimes express pity towards the social and economic conditions of the host and conclude with appreciation for the conveniences of the everyday and gratitude towards their home country. Such discourse can be seen in line with a "politics of pity" which, according to Boltanski (1999), works to highlight the fortunate through the power of observation by those who do not share the suffering.

Such engagement in a rhetoric of pity works in two ways. First, it veils the economic and social conditions beneath the surface of smiling children through which

human suffering persists among the host. The volunteers, long after returning home, may reminisce over their experience abroad, romanticizing the other and human suffering. Along with reinforcing an image of the international, the visual text also cultivates volunteers as model citizens, who are empowered to take charge of their own future. These volunteers not only are successful in self-growth, but at the same time, they are grateful toward their home country. Complaining about one's personal situation is framed as being immature and spoiled. As volunteers remark that their misfortunes are "nothing compared to what they saw on the field," this politics of pity works to deny the social hardship that continues to inflict youth in Korea. This leads to the second effect of the rhetoric of pity, which works to construct a national subject, who is both committed to the advancement of the nation by spreading Korea's culture and knowledge abroad and, at the same time, grateful to the nation and for the fortunate position in which the individual finds her/himself. Hence, the model citizen is produced.

CHAPTER 6. PRODUCING AND CONSUMING DEVELOPMENT: VOLUNTEER ACCOUNTS ON THE GROUND[22]

Korea's volunteer program represents a steady increase in the number of volunteers coming from countries outside of the West. In 2012, 81 percent of volunteers in the United Nations Volunteers Program came from the global South, and Chinese volunteering is also growing rapidly in sub-Saharan Africa (Ceccagno & Graziani, 2016). The increase in non-Western volunteer exchange aligns with growing engagement in foreign aid and development cooperation by countries outside of North America and Western Europe.

Volunteering and development share histories and trajectories. In response to volunteering that takes place within the uneven patterns of power in the broader field of development, critiques about the colonial legacies underpinning international volunteering (Perold et al., 2013), the ways that benefits are more often oriented toward the volunteer (Jones, 2011), and the lack of critical pedagogies of development in volunteering (Diprose, 2012) have appeared in recent years.

However, scholarship in non-Western voluntary action has attracted considerably less academic attention, and scholars are only beginning to look into non-Western volunteer exchanges (Balie Smith et al., forthcoming; Butcher & Einolf, 2016). In a study that looks at volunteer exchanges among non-Western countries, Baillie Smith and colleagues consider the potential of the dominant ideology to be dismantled with the increase in non-Western volunteers (Smith et al., forthcoming) to forge a more equitable relationship between volunteer and host. They imply that Southern volunteers may realize

[22] Parts of this chapter appear in a previous publication, referenced below:
K. S. Lee. (2018). Entitled to benevolence? South Korea's government-sponsored volunteers as actors of public diplomacy and development. In J. Pamment & K. Wilkins (Eds.), *New Dimensions in the Politics of National Image and Foreign Aid: Communicating Development and Diplomacy* (pp. 123-141). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

partnership in its true sense (rather than the term being co-opted by international organizations like the World Bank) based on their cultural, historical, and economic identification with the host. I argue that such questions may have the effect of simplifying volunteer-host relations and essentializing the notion of the "South" as a unitary entity. In turn, questions driven by the assumption that Southern volunteers are more fit to engage in development volunteering (compared to their Northern counterparts) furthers the binary of North vs. South. Rather, I argue that the volunteer-host relationship needs to be situated in the greater structure if we want to understand the conditions under which a volunteer-host relationship is formed. Structural conditions work to constrain and at the same time enable a volunteer-host relationship. Taking the perspective of volunteering as development communication praxis enables us to identify volunteer-host relationships as multi-faceted and harboring different conflicts and tensions, rather than determined by either the dominant ideology of development at one end or volunteer agency on the other. Considering development communication in practice opens room to examine a multiplicity of structural conditions while also opening space to explore how volunteers enact agency to navigate the different structures. In such ways, this chapter explores how a volunteer-host relationship is both enabled and constrained by different structural conditions in which the volunteers are embedded.

This chapter looks at volunteer experiences in the field. How do volunteers in this program articulate their role as development agents? How do they understand their encounters in the host country? In order to address this question, I interrogate multiple structural spaces, including the Korean government's nation branding discourse, the enduring colonial legacy of development, and the financial resources available to volunteers. How do volunteers interpret and discuss encounters in relation to their identities? Specifically, I focus on volunteer narratives about national, racial/ethnic, and

gender identities. In so doing, I illustrate how Korean volunteers navigate with the dominant understanding surrounding nation, race, and gender in development.

This chapter is organized as follows. I first examine Korea's nation branding ideology as a structural condition. Specifically, I analyze how the Korean government articulates national identity through promotion of cultural commodities and show how volunteers become both ambassadors and targets of such cultural ideology. The chapter also examines the greater dominant ideology of development as a structural condition that internalizes certain preconceived assumptions of development actors. I look at how volunteers understand national, racial, and gender identities in development and interrogate how volunteers navigate within the dominant imaginary of development. Finally, I look at the structural condition of volunteer status that is created in their ability to channel funding to the host institution and explore how their positionality both enables and constrains relationships with the host. These themes will be examined in the following sections.

6.1. Sociopolitical Conditions

6.1.1. Ambassadors and Consumers of Brand National Identity

Prior to being sent abroad to their country of service, WFK-KOICA volunteers undergo pre-departure training, which involves eight weeks, or 310 hours of a diverse range of programs designed to prepare the volunteers for their assignment. The pre-departure training is designed to facilitate the vision of WFK volunteers, to "engage in service activities through which they can directly share their knowledge and experience to help accelerate progress in local communities while also serving as a bridge connecting the cultures of the host country with Korea" (World Friends Korea, 2013).

The training takes place in World Friends Korea Training Center, located in Yeongwol, Gangwon Province, where volunteers are housed for the duration of the program. Each day, the training program begins around 7 a.m. with daily morning exercises followed by a rigid schedule that continues on until nightfall. While the training curriculum varies by generational factor (youth vs. senior) and types of jobs that will be performed on site, a report on WFK domestic training (KOICA, 2017) indicates that pre-departure training is broadly categorized into four areas: Development cooperation; health and safety; cultural relations; and job-related knowledge. Development cooperation introduces volunteers to the history of international aid, Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), and Korea's history of receiving and giving aid. Health and safety programs prepare volunteers for possible emergency situations, such as natural disasters, health complications, and self-defense strategies through hands-on emergency management training. Job-related training offers a variety of exercises and lessons that help volunteers to plan out and discuss with other volunteers job-related activities to be undertaken on the field. Finally, cultural training consists of culture-learning topics to help volunteers acquire intercultural competence in bridging the sending and host cultures.

Cultural training includes language courses, area studies (learning about the particular country to which the volunteer is assigned), and Korean culture. Language course is given the greatest importance. The volunteers undergo an average of three-hours of language training each day, and at the end of the course, are administered an examination to test their language acquisition.

Cultural activities consist of visits to cultural heritage sites and museums. This included orienting with host culture in the World Friends Village, which is an extension of the volunteer training center that displays cultural artifacts and information of

countries to which WFK volunteers are deployed. A WFK blog posting showed images of volunteers visiting the Museum of Musical Instruments of the World and African Museum of Art. The objective of the field trip was to encourage volunteers to "learn about the lives of the people in their respective countries through traditional musical instruments" and to "learn about the diverse cultures of Africa" ("KOICA volunteers visit Korea's cultural sites," 2014). In addition to field trips, the training program consist of modules in which volunteers formed study groups according to their country of service and conducted research on the history, customs, demography, geography, food, and arts of the host country (WFK Training Center, 2017).

Out of the range of culture-learning modules offered, the most noteworthy is hands-on training of a diverse range of Korean cultural repertoires. During training, volunteers are taught to perform various cultural activities. Blog postings in the WFK official blog and a blog run by the volunteer training center feature images of volunteers fast at work, practicing traditional Korean calligraphy, making traditional masks (*tal*), practicing *Ganggangsullae* and *samullori,* designing traditional Korean fans, and making kimchi (salted and fermented cabbage). Volunteers are encouraged to introduce and promote traditional cultural elements during their service abroad through cultural exchange events and by integrating cultural elements into their educational programs. According to Park, a WFK staff, they try a lot of different cultural skill-learning, at times, inviting master craftsmen and artists who have been inscribed as intangible cultural heritage (*muhyeong munhwajae*) to teach certain traditional arts. As will be further discussed, the interviewees commented that such skills come in use for volunteers on the field, when many volunteers either assist in various cultural events hosted by the Korean embassy in the host country or organize cultural events hosting Korean language proficiency contests or K-pop performances.

The kinds of activities that are taken up in pre-departure training set the context for the topics and issues that the volunteers should be aware of and be concerned about before embarking on their assignments. The repertoire of their performative training – dance, music, and art – aligns with the broader cultural diplomacy policy of Korea that centers around Hallyu, or export of domestic popular and traditional culture to foreign countries. The performative repertoire in which the volunteers engage consists of the "explicit" side of culture, composed of cultural forms endorsed by the government to be exported abroad (Presidential Council of Nation Branding, 2013). Examining cultural policy of the Korean government from the early 2000s to present, Kang (2015) suggests that adverse reactions to the government's explicit promotion of Korean Wave abroad has brought about a decentralized exercise in cultural exchange programs. And against shifting international sentiments, people-to-people relations were perceived to be much more credible and less interest-driven than mass mediated cultural projection. The influence of concepts of soft power, public diplomacy, and nation branding coalesced into the promotion of Hallyu through various decentralized channels, which "mutually reinforced both organizational interests and national agenda" (Kang, 2015, p. 441). Culture training of volunteers can be seen as a corollary to the decentralized exercise in the government's promotion of culture.

The training program sets the parameters of cultural relations and mobilizes volunteers to enact the government vision of appropriating cultural content as a strategic tool for improving cultural attractiveness of the nation through mediated forms of cultural spectacle. In that such performative activities set the parameter of cultural exchange, the volunteer program can be understood as an extension of the government to manage and control Korea's national image.

In addition to hands-on learning of Korean traditional culture, cultural-learning included visits to Korea's heritage sites as well as visits to museums displaying artifacts from the host country. Cultural understanding as something that is fostered by exposure to displays of cultural artifacts reflects a very passive understanding of cultural mindset. Culture is essentialized as a collection of explicit tangible, visible, elements "that people can observe, listen to, or talk openly about (Zaharna, 2012). Essentialization has the effect of detaching culture from the political and social context, making it a form of consumable product.

Such assumptions of culture as an essentialized repertoire of traditional performances constrain the potential of the volunteers and encourage a very limited understanding of cultural relations as exchange of traditional markers rather than substantive exchange. This is in line with Koichi Iwabuchi's argument that drawing on such cultural forms may carry over to a trivial identification with the idea of the nation, which while facilitating some understanding and intercultural exchange, fails to seriously engage with and promote cross-border dialogue (2015).

As a whole, the training modules may be interpreted as a narrative of how Korea seeks to present itself as a donor to their hosts. Of course, eight weeks of training is not sufficient time to cultivate volunteers to certain ways of thinking. During my interviews, very few volunteers were able to recall what they learned during their training. When asked whether they felt that they represent the nation, most were in agreement that they represented Korea in taking part in a government-sponsored program. Still, very few of my interview participants overtly expressed national consciousness in undertaking volunteer work. In fact, it was only the senior volunteers who expressed nationalistic motivation in their decision to pursue volunteering, to which I will come back later. When I asked a WFK staff whether nationalism was one of the driving factors in why the

younger generation of applicants pursue volunteering, her answer was simply "no." There are numerous reasons why applicants decide to commit to two years of going abroad, but they are not driven by national sentiments, she said. It was clear in my interviews that the younger generation did not associate volunteering with a nationalistic act. However, as one volunteer commented, "When we are abroad, whether we like it or not, we are constantly reminded of our nationality. I don't believe that I am doing this for my country, but I do admit that my identity as a Korean becomes foregrounded in everything I do." For volunteers in their 20s and 30s, national consciousness is something that is evoked in the randomness of their everyday encounters in a host setting. A former volunteer who spent six months in Sri Lanka spoke about his surprising encounter with a bakery tuk tuk, also known as bakery three-wheelers that make daily rounds in the streets throughout Sri Lanka selling bread and baked goods. Soh said, "These bakery three-wheelers all play the same tune, Beethoven's *Für Elise.* But it was in my town, two hours away from Batticaloa, that I heard a bakery three-wheeler making rounds to the tune Gangnam Style." For Soh, in a small, remote town that is a two-hour drive from the nearest Internet cafe, it was the most unlikely place to come across Korean pop, no matter how famous the song had become. "Every time people hear the sound of Gangnam Style approaching, they would run outside and line up to buy bread" Soh went onto say, "I felt wow, this is kind of interesting. I mean, I don't know if the people knew this was a Korean song but…"

While younger volunteers in their 20s and 30s were not consciously aware nor felt loyalty towards their nation of origin, it was in such moments of unlikely encounter with what they associated as being Korean that they felt an affective surge of national pride. Here, I use the term affective over emotional because of the sensuality of the encounter. The auditory experience of hearing Psy's Gangnam Style stands in sharp contrast to the

sight of the dusty road, rusty tuk-tuk, and a middle-aged Sri Lankan pastry vendor. Such contrast in senses create a strong feeling of affective national consciousness on the part of the volunteers. On one hand, for Soh and other volunteers, such an encounter is indicative of Korea's ascent internationally, more so because the encounter took place not in a cosmopolitan center like New York or Hong Kong, but in a place that they feel is distant not only in terms of physical distance from Korea but more so in terms of structural distance. To the volunteers, the center-periphery relationship between Korea and the host becomes more pronounced in these moments.

Such a narrative of national consciousness is also witnessed in volunteer accounts of watching *taekwonmu*, which is a performance-based taekwondo that combines martial art with dance choreography. Many of my interview participants mentioned watching *taegwonmu* performance during Korean festivals held in their country of service, an experience that is frequently associated with feelings of awe. Koichi Iwabuchi cautions that such an encounter more often than not, "engenders banal inter-nationalism as it prompts people to implicitly comprehend cross-cultural encounters as those among mutually exclusive national cultures with delimited boundaries" (Iwabuchi, 2015).

The global flow of this media and technology infrastructure along with the Korean government's active push to spread the ideology of cultural nationalism to a global level has brought Korea's pop culture to even remote parts of the world. Volunteers, in this process, are implicated as both ambassadors and targets of the national project. Volunteers play a part in circulating the cultural products promoted by the government as representing Korea's national identity through cultural exchange events where cultural forms are performed, displayed, and distributed. For example, the interview participants mentioned how happy and excited host students are to receive K-pop paraphernalia, such as posters, pamphlets, and stationary, which volunteers bring

from the Korean embassy and KOICA office in their host country and are distributed during various occasions. At a different level, when volunteers unexpectedly encounter such cultural moments which they associate with the idea of Korea, the sense of national consciousness evoked works to further solidify the idea of a nation as constituted by a set of cultural commodities.

It seems that national consciousness, however, takes different forms by the nature of volunteer work and by generation. Volunteers who were involved in cultural education such as Korean language or taekwondo education tended to be more consciously aware of their status as representing the nation. Such consciousness was particularly strong among senior volunteers. Lee, a senior volunteer who worked as a Korean language instructor in a Moroccan university was very clear from the beginning that in volunteering abroad, he was determined to serve the nation. A retired principal in a middle school, Lee spoke about his experience being invited to a Confucius Institute conference in China as a motivation for his own work as a "citizen diplomat."

> I listened to the organizers of the Confucius Institute express great pride for their Chinese language. Being there with other Korean members, it made me think, we have this great language, it's a world-class language. And what are we doing? I made up my mind to teach Korean for our country after retirement. From 2011, I prepared to spread Korean to the world. I retired in 2013 and applied for KOICA volunteer program in 2014. I left for Morocco towards the end of 2014 and came back to Korea at the end of 2016. I feel that it was a worthwhile experience. Apart from my own interest, I am proud of having served as a citizen diplomat for two years to uphold our country and that I was able to teach others about Korea.

Lee's participation in the Confucius Institute made him realize that the Institute was not an academic entity but closer to a publicity organization. He was impressed with the scale of the Institute and its work in making foreigners develop a positive image of the country. When I asked him about what he means by upholding the country, he explained:

> I heard that in order for a country to survive in this world and to be strong, there needs to be at least one hundred million people using the native language. This is just a story I heard. But if we count the population of North and South Korea, there are only 70 million. That means 30 million foreigners need to be using Korean. That was what I thought. And I took the initiative to take a part. I became certified in teaching Korean even as an old age, and had the opportunity to go abroad to volunteer.

Lee's nationalistic narrative caught me by surprise because it was unprecedented among the younger volunteers in their 20s and 30s. His perspectives most likely reflect his social position as a long-time educator. Articulation of nationhood has traditionally been the project of intellectual elites (Gellner, 2006). In that public institutions, namely schools, are noted for their social reproduction of hegemonic understandings of nation, class, and culture (Bourdieu, 1973; Foucault, 2008), Lee's pride toward Korean culture and his sense of obligation to his country may be a reflection of his social position.

It was common to come across national sentiments among senior volunteers like Lee. Having gone through the developmentalist age of Korea, senior volunteers above the age of 65 years tend to share strong emotionally-laden pride at having taken part in Korea's rapid transition from a poor country to one with a strong economy. The senior volunteers tended to draw on a historical narrative of KOICA, bringing in the U.S. Peace Corps as a frame of reference for Korea's growth in influence. Kim's response to my question, "How did you find out about KOICA?" was illustrative of KOICA's dominant narrative.

> I had known about KOICA for a long time now. When we were young, we had the Peace Corps, which was a volunteer group from the U.S. I heard a while back that our country now has a volunteer group like the U.S. Peace Corps. too. We had become that much stronger.

Although Kim is a devout Christian, she chose to volunteer with KOICA rather than committing herself to Christian missionary volunteering. This was due to a number of reasons. First, it was because of the financial support provided by KOICA that would

give her the opportunity to try different things during her volunteering. Second, it was the narrative link to the U.S. Peace Corps that had imprinted a strong image in her head. The symbolic story of the U.S. Peace Corps and WFK takes currency for the senior volunteers, invoking feelings where personal achievement and national achievement becomes overlapped.

6.1.2. EMBODYING THE NATION AND CLAIMING LEGITIMACY

In this section, I discuss how the nation figures in the development imaginary as invoked by volunteers in their accounts of their experiences. First, in line with the broader institutional narrative of sharing and respect, volunteers distinguished Korea's program as offering service

based on its experience of development and with a less imperialistic interest in mind. Studies on Korea's development cooperation projects have also indicated that countries like Cambodia are dissatisfied with social sector projects provided by western donors and would rather focus on economic growth. The Cambodian government is grateful for development projects offered by East Asian donors that are largely infrastructure-related, following their own development experiences (Sato et al., 2010). This was evident, for example, in the following exchange where Kim, a volunteer coordinator from North Africa, explained his work in placing volunteers with host institutions.

> There was an agricultural research center that wanted to export their products under their own brand and requested our field office to send an expert in product packaging and branding. I found this to be a just demand, and a meaningful demand, it enables the host to be independent. This is not something that Western donors would do, because they would rather buy the products at a cheaper cost and brand it themselves. We have volunteers in the Senior Advisors Program who are retired from companies like Samsung and CJ with capacity to deliver the service.

In the above passage, Kim distinguishes Korea's volunteer intervention from imperialistic interests of western donors, and at the same time positions Korea as being more economically advanced than the host. However, Kim goes on to express his surprise when many such placements end up with very few positive outcomes. Volunteer coordinators frequently referred to frustrations expressed by senior experts upon their placement in the host institution. As retired experts, senior advisors have access to a privileged position in Korean society. They are treated with respect as a professional and as an elder and are conferred authority. For Korean senior advisors, rigorous time management, efficiency, and prompt feedback are just a few of the basic tenets of professionalism, a value considered to be central to productivity. However, their expectations were rarely reciprocated by the co-workers of the host institution. Kim talked of frequent complaints by senior experts that they were not treated with respect and would oftentimes draw on the stereotypical trope of the laziness of the local co-workers for being economically backward.

What is noteworthy is Kim's explanation of such relational tensions. Kim points to the inferior position of Korea and the lack of political economic influence in comparison to other volunteer-sending states as having a delegitimizing effect on claims to expertise.

> To simply think, "I am here to help you, so you follow my lead" is a big mistake. They [senior experts] are not taken seriously by the local people. From the point of view [of the locals], Korea is only a small country with little influence. To them, it is like a joke to see some people from such a small country, not like the US or France, and who know nothing about their [the host country's] culture and pride say, "You follow my lead as I am here to help you." To the locals, [the senior expert] is just someone from some very small country out there.

Kim's comment illustrates the political nature of knowledge, and its validity is constituted in the relational. Kim uses the word "small" to describe the lack of Korea's

presence in the host country and the low level of familiarity and interest among the local population. He compares Korea to countries such as Germany, France, and Japan, that have more established, systematized, and sizable development budgets and agendas.

Many volunteers echoed Kim's comments in noticing that, on the ground, they were given different treatment from the volunteers belonging to the US Peace Corps and the Japanese International Cooperation Agency. They attribute the difference in treatment to the lack of cultural and economic clout of Korea. "Even if [the Korean volunteers] speak better English than the Japanese volunteers, they have a much greater advantage because they are Japanese," one volunteer who served in Southeast Asia said. Unlike the Japanese and the US counterparts, the lack of Korea's international presence was commonly seen as the reason for the discriminatory treatment received by the Korean volunteers on ground. The inferior status of the country was perceived to override the individual competency of the volunteers in determining the relational dynamic with the host nationals.

The comments made by the volunteers are indicative of a perceived disjuncture in power relations that arises as the volunteers see their roles as helping to improve the capacity of the host, which may be questioned or dismissed by the host community. The senior experts were separated from their expertise and, instead, embodied by the low level of influence ascribed to the country to which they belong. The embodiment of the nation, in cases of volunteers from Europe or North America, frequently works to ascribe legitimacy of the volunteers. For example, Korean volunteers mention that the German and the Japanese volunteers are respected by the host for their large-scale projects and engineering skills. Within such a discourse, Korean volunteers felt they were not given the legitimacy to claim the role of aid provider, being questioned about their legitimacy based on their (lack of) national image.

6.1.3. PERFORMING TO BE THE "BETTER ASIAN": NAVIGATING THE RACIALIZED IMAGINARY OF DEVELOPMENT

As the phrase "White man's burden" encapsulates, systemic power issues in development cannot be addressed apart from race. Race constitutes the most visible factor in a volunteer's identity and, as an aspect of representation, works to construct a frame of reference of what a volunteer should look like and, on the other hand, what the recipient of aid should look like. Existing literature on international development volunteers have shown that volunteers have a sense of entitlement to the privileges that are enjoyed by white, Euro-American (as well as Australian) development actors (Georgeou, 2012; Hanchey, 2015). These studies also point out that such hegemonic understanding of the superiority of Western development actors over local staff and the superiority of Western knowledge is oftentimes taken for granted by the host constituents. Such internalized perceptions of the hegemonic understanding of development is an important dimension of volunteer-host encounters. It entitles certain people to the role of aid while undermining the legitimacy of those who do not fit into such internalized imagery. Within the dominant imaginary of development, Korean volunteers are faced with a disjuncture in their position as development actor.

All Korean volunteers who took part in these interviews remarked that they were racially ridiculed by local publics, no matter the host countries. They stated that they were called names such as "monkey," and picked on for their small eyes. Volunteers' experiences of racial discrimination were much more pronounced in countries outside of Asia. Particularly in smaller remote towns where there were no foreigners, volunteers tended to be perceived by the essentialized category of race as a set of appearance cues. Park, who stated earlier that he and the volunteer who came before him were the only Asians in the town, laughingly remarked:

> When I replaced the previous volunteer, no one could tell us apart. We look nothing like each other, but people would still call me Daniel. That was the name the previous volunteer went by. Then after awhile, they noticed that I was actually much shorter than Daniel. So from that they, they started calling me "Danielito." The name stuck with me for the first year that I was there.

Hwan's story illustrates the ways in which volunteers are categorized as essentialized racial subjects. But most of my interview participants sought to navigate the racialized hierarchy in power relations by asserting their racial identity by looking "cleaner" and "smart." When volunteers appeared in public well-dressed and well-groomed, the volunteers noted that they were frequently asked by the host nationals if they were Japanese. Even as the volunteers told the people that they were Korean, they "for some reason," felt better for being addressed as Japanese, as opposed to being labeled as Chinese, which was usually followed by racial ridicule.

The first point to note is that the ways in which Korean volunteers navigate within their everyday encounters indicates a different understanding of race and ethnicity from that of the context in which race is signaled by appearance features. The racialized hostility from host nationals were based on assumptions of racialization of ethnic label (i.e. "all Asians are Chinese"). However, among Koreans and their East Asian neighbors, race is conceived in terms of the ethno-national. Korean volunteers sought to contest the racialization by "strategy of disidentification" (Kibria, 2000). In other words, they sought to distance themselves from the perceived "problem group" (Goffman, 1963, as cited in Kibria, 2000). Their assertion of ethnonational identities was situated within the established racial scheme that associated being Chinese with cheap products, exploitative nature of the country's development projects, and stealing jobs in the host country. Furthermore, putting in extra effort to appear more presentable signaled an aspect of class as imbricated in volunteers' assumptions of ethno-nationality. Han, who had volunteered in Myanmar, said,

> I was on my way to a bank one day. Being in hurry, I got into a taxi. The taxi driver asked me if I were Japanese. This was really funny because I happened to have make-up on that day, but when I didn't have any make-up on, I would normally be asked if I were Chinese.

Although she never asked the driver about the reason for his assumption of her nationality, Han guessed that it was the fact that she was going to a bank and looked presentable that led the taxi driver to identify Han as Japanese. In such ways, the volunteers highlight the ways in which being perceived as Japanese is associated with socioeconomic wealth.

Nonetheless, my interview participants did acknowledge that such efforts took them only so far. The performative aspect of race among Korean volunteers is indicative of their strategic positioning within the constraints of the dominant imaginary of development actor. However, rather than attempting to disrupt the racialized identification of the volunteer, most volunteers positioned themselves within such established frames of references. Volunteers' coping methods complicated the dominant racialized hierarchies by incorporating ethno-nationality into the hegemonic colonial understanding of race, ascribed on the basis of perceived physical characteristics.

For the most part, volunteers in Southeast Asia such as Vietnam or Indonesia were less subject to racialized treatment by the host compared to those in South American or African countries. This is in line with Smith et al.'s (forthcoming) study on South–South volunteering, which points out that similar shades of skin color were associated with "sameness" that fostered identification and friendly relations among volunteers and hosts. In fact, for Korean volunteers in Southeast Asian countries, that their shade of skin tends to be slightly lighter on average than people of Southeast Asia was a source of admiration for the local public. Furthermore, in these countries where the ethnic Chinese comprise a large majority of the upper socio-economic stratum, the volunteers were less

subject to racially derogatory comments associated with being Chinese. This demonstrates how racial/ethnic understanding is not homogeneous, but a cultural and political construct that takes on different meanings across parts of the world.

While the volunteers mostly demonstrated asserting their ethno-national identities in ways that conformed to the racialized imaginary, as volunteer-sending organizations from non-Western countries continue to grow, they are complicating the racial hierarchy in a way that sees race and ethnicity as multi-layered and multi-faceted understanding.

6.1.4. THE GENDERED IMAGINARY OF DEVELOPMENT IN VOLUNTEER RELATIONS

In many cases, gender worked as an added element of spectacle for the Korean volunteers. Many female volunteers told me that the local children and women would touch their hair and arms in both curiosity and admiration. One volunteer jokingly commented, "This is what I imagine it would feel like being a celebrity." Korean female volunteers were frequently seen as novel and subject to the gaze of other foreigners. Cheon, a former volunteer in Ecuador, illustrates being subject to a frame that is defined and captured by white, foreign tourists.

> In the past, I was into taking photos, too. I would always be on the search for great scenes and all. So, I know that being in a touristy city, an Asian girl having a fun time with the locals, it makes a great picture. And I noticed that I was having photos taken of me without knowing. It was a very unpleasant feeling, to be the one being photographed. A small local girl and an older Asian girl sitting side-by-side having candy, reading a book together in the market square … these moments were framed by [the foreign tourists] holding up their cameras, and I found it to be really disturbing.

The power asymmetry embedded in the act of taking pictures is well documented (Sontag, 1977). However, most analyses have examined the divide that separates the passive, silent subject, being framed by the visual composition, from that photographer who has the power to tell the story of the person depicted in the photo. In this case, the

volunteer who is an Asian female is also regarded as an added spectacle to the frame. The moment complicates the power asymmetry by adding a layer of racialized and gendered expectations. Although Cheon is there as a facilitator to work on a photovoice project with the girls and women in her village, to an outsider, by being photographed, she is disempowered, silenced, and framed in a simplified way as a racialized and gendered construct.

Gender identity was also seen to compromise the professional identities of female volunteers. My interview participants oftentimes told me that they were not taken seriously by their male co-workers. Park was a former KOICA volunteer who worked in a local library in Sri Lanka to digitize the library system. She explained:

> In the beginning, I noticed that the director was treating me not as a colleague but as if I were a child. I felt like an intern in the library. Maybe it was because I'm thin and I look younger than my age?

Then she went on to explain the culture of gender roles in her village. "Where I was located, women are mostly confined to the home and do not leave the house often. Even everyday errands like grocery shopping are done by men." Park's experience illustrates the ways in which Korean female volunteers are pushed to navigate both gendered stereotypes of Asian women as well as gender norms in their host society. In particular, mass mediated stereotypes of Asian women affected how female volunteers were perceived by the host people. Cheon explained the discomfort of walking around in the streets in Bolivia as a Korean female volunteer.

> We are either taunted by people on the streets who shout at us, "Ching Chang Chong" [derogatory term directed at Chinese people] or we are associated with the image of Japanese women and pornography, which was everywhere in the country. Female volunteers went through a lot of stress.

The smaller physique and youthful appearance of Korean volunteers contributed to host perceptions of them as like children. Interview participants noted that their racial

features added to this perception, making it more difficult to maintain an equal stance in positionality with the co-workers in the host institution.

The interview participants' accounts of how they were hyperfeminized, infantilized, and prone to media-driven stereotypical assumptions diverge substantially from the experience of female volunteers of the US Peace Corps, whose positionality as a white American automatically granted them access to masculinity. Female Peace Corps volunteers were respected "even though" they are women. Hanchey (2015) explains how female volunteers are able to assert masculinity and accepted for their roles, notwithstanding the local culture.

> Rather than having to deal with the gender roles of that particular South American village's culture, she gets to trade her status as a white U.S. American for masculine clout: the positionality of the U.S. American is automatically considered a masculine positionality (2015, p. 241).

The tendency to perceive white women as an "exception" to local gender norms is also evident in Maria Baaz's (2005) study of development actors in Tanzania. White women were primarily identified by their race, referred to by Tanzanians as *mzungu.* Baaz interprets the absence of gendered identity as going hand-in-hand with class privilege. "Whereas being a woman was automatically equated with an unprivileged power position – not being taken seriously, not being listened to – most women contended that they did not experience this as such a problem in Tanzania. And this was often attributed to economic privilege" (p. 106).

While white female volunteers are given an exceptional status as being separate from the local culture, the Korean volunteers were expected to work through the pervasive stereotype of the Asian woman, as well as assumptions regarding their appearance, at the same time as dealing with the gender roles of the host culture.

An exception to such findings, however, was observed during an interview with Choi. Choi, a university student majoring in international sport management, is a former volunteer who served as a Taekwondo Peace Corps member. She spent six months training national athletes in a Taekwondo academy in Tanzania. Upon being asked whether she was discriminated by the male counterparts in the host institution, she contended that she never felt as though she was being treated differently from the other male volunteers. For female volunteers who serve in the Taekwondo Peace Corps, being adept at what is considered to be an elite martial art may have granted them access to a masculine identity. The Taekwondo Peace Corps presents a masculine identity through promotion of a martial art that stresses discipline and spiritual training. For this reason,

the Taekwondo Peace Corps enjoys a privilege that distinguishes them from most other volunteers. They are frequented by local elites and are given respect. In this regard, female volunteers, "although they are women," enjoy equal treatment as their male volunteers because they are embedded in a masculine space, just as the female volunteer of the US Peace Corps enjoys a male status due to her country-of-origin that is associated with masculinity.

6.2. Cultural Conditions

6.2.1. **MEDIATED RELATIONSHIPS**

When I was in Kenya on a volunteer project in 2003, I was greeted by many smiling boys on the streets who asked me to show them my Kung Fu moves. Ten years later, most of my interview participants, no matter what country they were in, told me that they were met by host students eager to exchange conversations about Korean dramas or K-pop. Although the extent varies by region, the level of enthusiasm toward Korean mass culture

has risen sharply in a little more than a decade. In response to such enthusiasm, K-pop performance is commonly presented during cultural exchange events. One interview participant even offered K-pop dance as an after-school curriculum. The class, which was set up due to request by the students, was so popular that students who could not fit into the classroom stood outside, following every move through the windows.

Korea Day, which is organized by KOICA, is held annually as a part of government initiative to introduce and spread Korean culture to host countries. On the day of the event, people of the host country can experience a range of cultural activities from trying on *hanbok*, getting a taste of Korean dishes, to taking photos with life size stand-up posters of K-pop stars. WFK volunteers are invited to participate as staff members in these events hosted by KOICA or the Korean Embassy. For volunteers, events such as Korea Day and Korea Festival serve as opportunities to take a day off from their daily volunteer-related work and to meet fellow volunteers, eat much missed Korean food, and to have fun. During these events, the highlight is the K-pop contest. K-pop contests are open to any nationals of the host country, which according to Soh, is very competitive among the contestants because the winner is awarded a free travel package to Korea. For many volunteers like Soh, Korea Day festivals and K-pop contests are joyful memories of their volunteer experience. Watching the locals perform on stage K-pop, volunteers expressed feeling of elatedness and unity. Recalling back, Soh remarked, "It was raining so much that day that the organizers were worried that nobody would show up for the contest. But we [fellow Korean volunteers and Soh] were there yelling and cheering the whole time. We didn't even bother to stay dry – we were

dancing along with the contestants. After the event was over, the organizer said that we saved the day."

Driven by active support of Korean government to spread popularity of Hallyu globally, Korean volunteers engage in such volunteer-host relationships mediated by popular culture. This is distinct from the curiosity that locals express towards foreigners in that Korean volunteers are approached with certain preconceived notions of K-pop idol groups. Particularly for female university volunteers that served in South/Southeast Asian countries where K-pop had gained widespread popularity, it was common for them to be likened to members of idol girl bands. The volunteers' accounts illustrate the ways in which the volunteer–host relationship is mediated by understanding of culture through commercialized celebrities. In the official WFK blog, one easily comes across photo images of teams of young female volunteers on stage, dressed identically and executing homogenized choreography. K-pop idol girl bands are characterized by their "hypergirlish-femininity that prioritizes submissiveness, pureness, and cuteness over Westernized notions of powerful and independent womanly sexiness" (Oh, 2014, p. 56).

What is noteworthy is that the volunteers engage as both spectators and performers of K-pop. Perhaps, in developing volunteer-host relationship mediated by K-pop, we are witnessing how cultural proximity (Straubhaar, 1991) may be worked into this relationship formation. However, in reproducing the performative act, the volunteers mediate and are subject to racialized femininity. The accounts of these volunteers illustrate the ways in which K-pop as soft power reinforces the self-stereotyping and

transient understanding of the national form as a spectacle, in a way that is self-stereotyping and self-Orientalizing.

6.3. Institutional Conditions

6.3.1. KOICA-Volunteer Relations

In addition to ideological and national structures that influence volunteer-host relationships, volunteers navigated the institutional conditions that provided opportunities as well as constraints in building relationships with their hosts. All interview participants informed me that volunteers operate largely outside of the radar and control of the volunteer-sending agency, KOICA. The relative freedom of the volunteers is indicative of their positionality located outside of politics of the broader development field, even as they constitute a growing flow of development actors. While they are required to submit periodic reports of their activities to the regional office, they are not constrained in terms of the kinds of activities implemented in the field. The ideas for projects come from the volunteers based on their perceptions of the hosts' needs. Especially for volunteers located outside of the capital city, it is difficult for the volunteers to request help. Because of the volunteers remaining outside of the purview of the agency, there are strict restrictions. Among others, volunteers are not allowed to travel certain distance outside of their region of assignment. Intake of alcohol and driving are both forbidden among all volunteers. Nevertheless, instances where volunteers use this time for personal travel and when volunteers don't show up to their workplace are not uncommon (CITE).

The biggest reason for the relative freedom enjoyed is the lack of managerial staff in KOICA regional offices. The proportion of the managerial staff to volunteers is much lower than the U.S. Peace Corps and Japan International Cooperation Association (JICA)

counterparts. Hwan, who worked in Paraguay, served as a development cooperation volunteer in place of his military service. Among my interview participants, Hwan was by far, the most actively engaged with his host town and surrounding villages in Philadelphia. He undertook numerous secondary projects, most of which were outcomes of his daily talks with the school principal and students. But looking back, Hwan reflects that he probably could not have done that if it were not for the remoteness of the area to which he was assigned ("there wasn't much else to do") and his status as a military volunteer, which left him no choice to turn back.

> I was assigned to an area that most people don't know about. Even Paraguayans don't recognize the town of Philadelphia. I was the second and the last KOICA volunteer to be assigned there. There was one other Peace Corps volunteer but he was pulled out early on in my volunteer service and since then, no one replaced his place... Many volunteers end up going back to Korea in the middle of their volunteer service. But I wasn't in a place to complain about my assignment nor did I have a choice to go back home. All I could do was to hold out and I think that [my status] was the reason I was able to complete my service there.

Until recently, overseas volunteer work was available as a replacement for mandatory military service. However, this system was abolished in 2014 due to a number of accidents. Such service also brings an interesting perspective to the country's understanding of overseas development in that the system was justified as constituting a form of serving the nation similar to that of the military. However, it gave an opportunity for male youth to partake in volunteering as an alternative to military service. In the case of Hwan, his position as a military soldier led him to approach volunteering more as a duty than voluntary, and therefore, contributed to him enduring the difficulty of adjusting to an inhospitable environment.

6.3.2. **FINANCIAL FLOW IN RELATIONSHIP BUILDING**

Negotiating the dissonance in perspectives required volunteers to position themselves strategically and to build relationships with their host nationals in order to undertake their roles as volunteers. Most often, volunteers relied on projecting their professional identities. They affiliated themselves with the local public institution where they worked. Because all volunteers are assigned to national or public institutions in their host country, their affiliation grants them a degree of credibility and status. Volunteers who are professionals in Korea, such as school teachers or librarians, state that they are certified professionals, which also works to present themselves as being more credible. Park, who worked as a librarian, became fluent in the local language, Tamil, which granted her a certain degree of authority and respect from her co-worker. Oftentimes, demonstrating their professional identities would grant them acceptance from even the most skeptical of community members. Hwan, a volunteer in South America, recounted his experience visiting a community that remained mostly closed off because of the members' skeptical and unfriendly attitude toward outsiders. He too was misconstrued as a religious missionary or a temporary laborer in town. Hwan told me that he strategically introduced himself as a certified primary school teacher in the district and a volunteer from Korean government program, which gave him the opportunity to talk to the chief of the community.

Throughout my interviews, volunteers shared their challenges and dilemmas. While most volunteers reflected back positively on their experiences, every one of the interview participants went through difficult periods due to their limited language skills. This was prominent for volunteers who worked in the social service sector where knowledge of not only professional linguistic ability was essential to go about in their daily jobs. Jeon and Sohn, who majored in social welfare shared similar dilemmas. Jeon,

who worked in a city hall in Ecuador, spoke of the dilemma of being assigned to a position that was too challenging:

> Compared to other volunteers, I was one of the best in Spanish, and I didn't have any trouble adjusting. But still, I was not competent enough to deliver the kind of work that was expected in the host institution. I was there sitting on my seat in the office everyday, but I didn't know what was going on. Every day, I felt like I was sitting on a thorny cushion. The first three months, I cried to and from work every day

Sohn also faced similar challenges. She was assigned to a legal division in the City Hall. Her Spanish, no matter how hard she tried, was just not proficient enough to perform any particular task in the office. However, the position of the volunteers as representing a Korean government organization[23] contributes to their status no matter how crude their language skills may be. Furthermore, it was also their potential to channel funds that gave them a degree of authority. During their two-year service, each volunteer was able to apply for up to US$ 50,000 worth of support from KOICA headquarters for their secondary project (KOICA, 2017b)[24]. Secondary projects encompass cosmetic refurbishing of buildings, expanding infrastructure and developing educational content such as storybooks and textbooks. Volunteers have also implemented health campaigns to promote awareness of personal hygiene and sexual health, as well as provide medical check-ups in collaboration with Korean nurses and doctors volunteering in neighboring cities.

---

[23] KOICA volunteers are given an official diplomatic passport in exchange for the duration of their service abroad.

[24] Overall, the funds channeled to secondary projects are growing. In 2014, KOICA supported 200 projects, allocating approximately US$ 4.5 million. That means that on average, US$ 25,000 was provided to implement one secondary project (KOICA World Friends Team, 2018). According to KOICA, the size of the project in terms of the number of application and the amount provided is growing as the application and evaluation process is becoming less bureaucratic (KOICA World Friends Team, 2015) In addition to funds channeled through secondary projects, KOICA provides up to US$ 2,000 during volunteer service to support their activities. Volunteers can purchase items necessary for their activities, such as books and office supplies (KOICA, 2017).

For volunteers like Sohn and Jeon, secondary projects offered resources that provided them with the potential to change local conditions outside the confines of their office. Jeon used the secondary project as an opportunity to engage students in creative art lessons.

> Within the district where I was deployed, there were communities located an hour or two away. My co-worker, the only social worker in the city hall, and I had to visit each of these communities each month. When I visited the communities, I noticed that there was only one school, made of one classroom for all the students. The school was decrepit and the students would be scattered here and there, and there was only one teacher who taught all the curriculums. Being the only teacher, he couldn't cover all the subjects. So I decided to teach art in the schools. I made a ten-week curriculum with the help of a Korean volunteer nearby who was an art instructor. Then I wrote out and memorized every word of my presentation. I went around the school in every community in the district and asked the teacher to give me an hour a week to teach the students art. And that's how I started my secondary project.

Sohn who was also assigned to work in a city hall office, told me that she also involved herself in secondary projects. For Sohn, her drive came from a desire to be treated not as an outsider. She wanted to know what it was like to be a member of the local communities.

> When I first came to Cotacachi, I was taken aback at the majority of the residents who would go about in their everyday lives fully dressed in their traditional attire. They weren't doing this for show. The people maintained their traditional ways of lives, and I would meet these people in the supermarket and on the bus… It was quite an awe-inspiring sight for me. I found out later on that Cotacachi has one of the highest concentrations of indigenous population. But I still wondered, why are these people still sticking to their traditional ways of life? I wanted to know how life was like for people living here. But I was perceived as an outsider, and my broken Spanish didn't help to engage people in spontaneous casual conversations. So, I thought about a good way to approach the people when I remembered a documentary that I saw in Seoul International Women's Film Festival about kids born in a red light district India who were taught photography to depict their everyday lives[25]. I thought, this might work. I raised funds in Korea and was able

[25] Born into Brothels: Calcutta's Red Light Kids is a 2004 documentary film was written and directed by Zana Briski and Ross Kauffman.

> to purchase some cameras. I wanted to try the activity with women and girls in the community to encourage them to photograph their daily lives.

Although Sohn did not apply for funding from KOICA, she enacted the photovoice method as a secondary project. Photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997) is a strategic intervention method that corresponds to a culture-centered approach (Dutta, 2011) in that giving the participants a camera acts as handing over the discursive control over narratives and representations to the local community members. The discursive space created through visual expression engages the lived experience of the cultural members and represents the voice of the local participants. Further, the camera as a physical object served as a symbolic source of power that transformed the local community members from passive objects involuntarily placed within a narrative frame to a position in control of the narrative, "a maker of meaning" (Mulvey, 1989, p. 804).

Sohn remarked that the project was the most memorable thing she did because it opened a discursive space for dialogue with the women from the outskirts of Cotacachi. The dialogue, in turn, enabled her to understand issues of development from the perspective of the women in the town. When I asked her to explain, Sohn spoke of a microcredit project, which the city hall staff were trying to promote to women in smaller communities even though the borrowing rate was very low. They were frustrated because the project was not taking off as expected. However, it was through discussions with women during a photovoice session where she found out that an indigenous form of microlending had already existed among the women, and despite its organic form, the system was deeply rooted within the network of women in the community. The disconnect in such understanding was due to the ethnic/racial and class divide between the city hall staff who were mestizo elite class and the community women, who comprised mostly indigenous groups. When I asked Sohn if she did anything about the

disjuncture in understanding among the city hall staff and the indigenous women's group, she stated that she did not have the capacity to take this matter further. Her negative response may indicate that the project did not lead to any form of directed action and, therefore, the outcome of her secondary project is minimal. However, grounded in praxis, which emphasizes the process by which critical awareness of conditions are formed, Sohn's project is noteworthy for its act of engaging and exercising reflexivity. Her interest in the women began with somewhat romanticized understanding of the indigenous people and communities, and her desire to be perceived as an insider. However, her project shifted her initial curiosity and opened room for critical reflection awareness of the conditions of the women in structural conditions of development.

While support from KOICA headquarters offered volunteers opportunities to engage in need-based short-term projects, the rather generous support volunteers received from KOICA to buy necessary material and infrastructure for their host institution made it seem like the volunteers were there for providing resources rather than capacity building for both parties. My interview participants told me that they have requested funds from KOICA to buy and install things such as drinking fountain, volleyball court, computers, beam projectors, books, refurbishing classrooms, and soccer balls, among others. The fact that the volunteers were capable of channeling funds was apparent for most of the institutions that had hosted Korean volunteers in the past. In this regard, the large amount of funding that can be tapped into through these volunteers posed constraints in volunteer-host relations. Compared to their western counterparts as well as volunteer programs run by Korean NGOs, WFK volunteers receive a generous amount of monthly stipend, leading some critics to sarcastically refer to them as the "royalty of

volunteers"[26] (Park, 2016). Many of my interview participants expressed critical viewpoints to the ways in which the host constituents treated the volunteers. Soh spoke about comments received from co-workers in the school where he worked.

> My co-workers would say to me in a joking manner, "but aren't you rich? You can do this and that for us." They would say it jokingly, but it was frequent enough to make me feel uncomfortable.

Other interview participants recalled similar experiences. Jeon told that her co-workers would ask her to pay for t-shirts that the city hall employees would wear during the town's field day. Park mentioned that he was asked to replace a well-functioning printer with a fancy new printer by the principle of the school where he worked. The host constituents tended to view Korean volunteers as a gatekeeper of funds. Many interview participants attested to feeling hurt at noticing that they had traveled all this way only to be used as a source to channel funds and at being perceived as transient rather than being recognized for who they were both professionally and as individuals. In such ways, the access to funds functioned as both enabling and constraining factor in forging relationships with host constituents.

This chapter examined South Korea's international development volunteers as an emerging actor in the global aid landscape. Korea legitimizes its government-run volunteer program as a way to give back the help that was once given to the country. Culturally, it draws on values of respect and identification based on a shared story of economic hardship. As such, it seeks to create a narrative of South-South development based on moral obligation and cultural proximity. This chapter explored through the

[26] KOICA provides round-trip airfares and moving expenses. In addition, monthly living allowance and housing fees are provided. These amounts vary according to living costs of the country where volunteers are assigned, but in general, volunteers have all agreed that these allowances are sufficient enough to live comfortably in their host countries. KOICA also provides transition funds at the end of their service, which are intended to assist returned volunteers' transition in their home country. A KOV receives around USD 8,400 in transition fees (KOICA, 2017b).

analytical lens of development communication as practice whether Korean volunteers were able to re-work or transcend the dominant ideology of development. The chapter examined social, cultural, and institutional structural conditions in which volunteers are embedded. Situated in these structures, volunteers were both enabled and constrained in forging relationships with their hosts. The ways in which they navigated the structural conditions positioned them as ambassadors and consumers, the powerful and powerless, the colonizer and the oppressed. What is for certain is that Korean volunteers do not automatically enjoy the privilege granted to white, Euro-American volunteers. Volunteering serves as a period of continuous struggle of positioning their identity in relation to the host, no matter whether the purpose is to gain influence, to forge mutual relationships, or just to be able to get things done.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

This research project began with an overarching question about the potential of recipient-turned-donor countries to dismantle the dominant paradigm of development, which sustains an asymmetrical global relationship in economic, social, and political realms that continues to marginalize the beneficiaries of aid. The question reflects the emergence of alternative strategies and principles guiding development intervention in the contemporary field of development aid. As such, my purpose of this study was to examine South Korea as an emerging donor that was once a recipient of aid and whether and how this experience is implicated in its development thinking, representation, and practice. In other words, does Korea's past status as a recipient of aid complicate or rework the dominant understanding of development?

This dissertation was guided by such overarching questions. In chapter 4, I argue that developmental nationalism serves not only as a legitimizing principle for domestic governing of the Korean people but also as a guiding principle in Korea's engagement in development aid, particularly the country's overseas volunteer program. By illustrating the ways in which developmental nationalism is integrated with government's nation branding policy, I suggest that development is conceived as a trajectory by which to manage its growing number of unemployed youth population and to gain what is asserted as much-needed cultural attractiveness of the country.

Second, in illustrating how developmental nationalism operates in the volunteer program, World Friends Korea (WFK), I argue that representational practices of volunteer activities through a branding mechanism centers on the national as a compassionate, youthful, and culturally attractive while the host is infantilized, racialized, and decontextualized. Displaying these photos to the Korean public further disciplines the

Korean youth to embody the character and spirit of the volunteers, who are depicted as competent, youthful, adventurous, and compassionate.

Third, I illustrated the ways in which developmental nationalism is enacted and consumed by the volunteers during their work in host countries. In chapter 6, I argue that such national and institutional conditions reproduced the categorization of race, poverty, and culture as essentialized definers of national difference. Furthermore, it ill-prepared the volunteers to deal with the Eurocentric imaginaries of development deeply ingrained in both volunteers and host. Although the positionality of volunteers enabled them to engage in a wide range of volunteer-related activities, the institution's neglect in social justice pedagogy left volunteers oftentimes working within and re-producing Eurocentric understandings of development. Volunteers who were more aware of critical development practices demonstrated greater self-reflexivity of their positionality and critical consciousness in the process of working with the host people.

In whole, I argue that in the case of Korea, development aid, specifically the volunteering program, serves as a state apparatus of discourses and practices, which mobilizes its citizens to project a successfully transformed nation state, further reproducing asymmetrical relations with the host socially, culturally, and economically.

7.1. Developmental Nationalism in Past and Contemporary Times

This study historicized Korea's development thinking "as a way to gain awareness of our present circumstances" (Foucault, 1982, p. 209) by looking at how development thinking comes to pervade the Korean popular discourse in the period between 1960 and 2013. In chapter 4, I illustrated how development became a hegemonic national ideology and a core component of nation-building. G*eundaehwa* (modernization), *segyehwa* (globalization), and *seonjinhwa* (making advanced)

represented discourses that were organized according to the ruling power's policy, localized in response to particular global political economic conditions, and distributed through multiple state apparatus and public institutions. The discourses worked to sustain a narrative of a country in crisis, which served as a legitimacy of power and control. Using the rhetoric of a country at a crossroads between advancing past or falling through the cracks, the government subjected the Korean populace as national individuals obligated to their country above all else. The government exhorted its people to reform their mindset and consciousness to embody a set of traits that befit a modern, global, or advanced individual. State-mobilized rural reform movements, state subsidy of sports and leisure, and public discourse surrounding model individuals were some discursive strategies used to discipline and invoke the populace to embody a modern or global cultural mindset while maintaining their core allegiance to the nation state. Such discursive strategies articulated developmental nationalism as a moral imperative and a norm, whereby development (through capital accumulation) was seen as the primary way by which nationhood is practiced.

During the modernization period, state-mobilized campaigns sought to invoke a sense of affiliation and loyalty to the nation state. *Saemaul Undong* consisted of modernizing village aesthetics and infrastructure. In particular, state apparatuses such as centralized media and the census brought the villages under bureaucratic control of the nation state and produced national subjects whose affiliation and loyalty was, above all else, to the "fatherland." In the contemporary era, *Saemaul Undong* takes an important place in Korea's development thinking. It constitutes what is celebrated by the government as a unique model of development. But contrary to the widely held assertion, top-down villagization programs were common among postcolonial states during the latter part of 1960s through the 1970s, including Kenya's *harambee* movement (Ngau,

1987), *Ujamaa* in Tanzania (Jennings, 2008), as well as in Ethiopia and Mozambique (Cannon-Lorgan, 1999). While the movements differed in terms of the specifics of implementation, they constituted the villagization movement guided by the principle of self-reliance where the village was envisioned as a modern unit of communally-based capital generation. Ironically, *Saemaul Undong* is advertised as "a uniquely Korean model of development" and exported precisely to these countries. The globally exported *Saemaul Undong* reinforces the dominant paradigm of development in that it strips all ideological context and complexities within and sells it as a set of technocratic, formulaic, and neutral product to be consumed. *Saemaul Undong* is rendered authoritative through the research community and endorsement by international organizations (like the UNDP).

As development workers and experts preach to the local people in these African countries about the promises of *Saemaul Undong* for prosperity to rural villages of developing countries (see, for example, Kimani, 2016), they do not take into consideration that very similar movements had once existed in these countries. However, even in the case that the promoters are aware, whether it would matter in promoting *Saemaul Undong* is questionable, because it is the process by which *Saemaul Undong* is made into authoritative knowledge and narrative that is of importance. The discursive process by which *Saemaul Undong* is exported to developing countries in Africa and South/Southeast Asia demonstrates privileging of certain knowledge over others, and how Korea uses the power relations to further advance itself as an "expert" whose experience serves as a proof of how development initiatives can lead to economic growth. As such, *Saemaul Undong* serves both as a source of power at both the national and international level: Internally, it serves as legitimating discourse of Korea's

developmental nationalism. Externally, it constitutes a branded narrative of an allegedly proven model of development that Korea leverages to gain international recognition.

7.2. Branding Development, Branding Nation

In examining this international development volunteer program as a site of *doing good* and *looking good*, this study sought to address how the current market-oriented globalization that privileges promotional practices of branding as a tool of governance and identity politics brings together development and nation under a single framework of branding.

Just as commercial branding relies on consumption and production practices of consumers (Arvidsson, 2005), nation branding initiatives depend on enlisting citizens to identify with and spread the messages. Korea's international development volunteering program, which constituted an important nation branding program for the PCNB, enlisted Korean citizens to identify with, embody, and spread pre-defined set of nation branding components. The pre-departure training prepared volunteers for this role and the mindset they need to assume as brand ambassadors befit to spread Korea's moral commitment and its culture abroad. The volunteers were given knowledge of the history of ODA to embody professionalism as change agents while also encouraged to demonstrate the morality of compassion and care. In terms of learning about Korea's culture, this study found that volunteering is also closely aligned with Korea's Hallyu policy.

Furthermore, the award-winning photos of volunteer experiences, which are used for publicity purposes of KOICA, represent the volunteers' role in producing Korea's nation branding message. This is easily appropriated to "communicate the good done" (Enghel & Noske-Turner, 2018) by a state-affiliated development agency. Volunteer program is valued by the agency because of the human-centered story it tells to the

Korean public as well as the international community. The images of volunteers spread abroad not only publicize the agency but also construct certain ways of understanding what development is and how people might understand the nation's relationship with others. The photos commodify volunteer experience in that they are selected to be awarded and publicized not for the outcome of the volunteer work and its benefits to the host, but for the degree to which they conform to imageries projecting Korea's role as a development actor and its cultural visibility.

The photo images are only partial in that they do not cover the range of volunteer work or volunteer experiences with the host and staged in that many scenes in the photos are deliberately performed. Nonetheless, the consistency in the themes and the message conveyed in the photo images create a dominant understanding of development, which is undergirded by a romanticized understanding of poverty, simplified and decontextualized imagery of the host, and depoliticized through appearance of host children. The donor-centric representation of development undergirded by assumptions of "banal internationalism" (Iwabuchi, 2015) further highlights cultural borders rather than to break them down. Furthermore, effects of branding development such as appearance of darker skinned children, decontextualizing the host while national markers of Korea abound, and written text of envy and pity toward the host work to divide and rank order culture and race as superior and inferior.

I argue in chapter 5 that Korea's promotion of its do-gooding (i.e. looking good) come at serious cost to the host. Here, I agree with Karin Wilkins' claim that "when the performance of development becomes more a matter of *looking good*, then the goal of *doing well* may be sacrificed" (Wilkins, 2018, p. 76). The photos of volunteer work abroad were much less about the good done than moments of compassionate encounters in ways that romanticize and racialize poverty and social depravation. The visibility of

volunteer program logos as well as national symbols assert their identity to the extent that the racialized and decontextualized setting is relegated as a background upon which the institution promotes its do-gooding. As such, I hold, with Wilkins (2018), that public branding of development asserts the interests of donor citizens as opposed to host citizens. Finally, I argue that the photos further distance public awareness of global social injustice upon which poverty and disparities are sustained.

7.3. From Developmental Nationalism to Brand Nationalism

Chapter 6 showed that volunteers associated themselves with their nation through different trajectories between senior volunteers in their 60s and the younger generation of volunteers in their 20s and 30s. For the generation that has gone through this period of developmentalist era, developmental nationalism continued to invoke deep emotional appeal. Senior volunteers who are retired professionals were at the forefront of the country's transition from one of the poorest countries in the world to a strong economy. For this generation, commitment to developmental nationalism was ingrained into their motivation to take part in the volunteer program. While senior volunteers were more forthcoming about their motivation to serve the nation through volunteering, the younger generation volunteers identified with their country through encounters of popular culture. Oftentimes, volunteers expressed surprise at the level of enthusiasm toward Korean popular culture by the host constituents and expressed nationalistic sentiments upon encounters with Korean popular culture in their host country. The findings may support the claim made among branding consultants who offer nation branding as a "rallying point not only for promotion the nation internationally but also for providing individuals with an empowering sense of self-discovery and self-understanding" (Volcic &

Andrejevic, 2011, p. 608). However, the implications of such commodified forms of nationalism being invoked needs to be interrogated.

Nationalism toward such commodified forms of cultural goods, which scholars of global studies have referred to as "brand nationalism" (Iwabuchi, 2015) "commercial nationalism" (Volcic & Andrejevic, 2011), or "global nationalism" (Sklair, 2001), is instrumental to reinforcing the nation state's capital accumulation in contemporary world order. Brand nationalism, according to Iwabuchi, reflects a widely shared perception that "[popular culture, such as computer games and animation] are key cultural commodities for enhancement of soft power" (Iwabuchi, 2015, p. 19). For younger generation Korean volunteers it was in observing Korea's cultural ascent in the world through everyday encounters Psy's Gangnam Style in rural parts of Sri Lanka, for example, or watching Taekwonmu performances during Korean festivals upon which invoked feelings of brand nationalism. However, nationalistic sentiment that is primarily mediated by deliberately selected and commodified cultural goods by the governing elite further distances citizens from values of pluralism in views and perspectives because cultural hegemony operates in a way that "celebrate particular kinds of diversity while submerging, deflating or suppressing others" (Wilk, 1995, p. 118). Brand nationalism imbues an assumption of nation states being containers of distinct but market-friendly commodified cultural goods and second, it suppresses perspectives and groups of people who do not live up to the hegemonic discourse of national identity. Brand nationalism further distances itself from cosmopolitanism in the sense of "cultural co-existence" and "refusal of monoculturalism as governing value" and individuals working *with* and *through* differences. Volunteers were more prone to solidifying differences through their volunteer experiences, rather than overcoming them.

Existing research tend to categorize brand nationalism as being distinct from previous versions of nationalism. For example, Van Ham (2001) claims that chauvinist nationalism is deep-rooted, ideological, and entails an antagonistic sense of national identity as a contrast to nation branding. Rather than viewing brand nationalism as a distinct phenomenon that is separate from previous forms of nationalism, this study suggests that brand nationalism is an extension of developmental nationalism in Korea. Historicizing the national discourse of Korea across five decades, I find consistency in the ways in which national subjects are envisioned and spoken about by the governing elites. By invoking exigency in national affairs, public discourse constantly exhorts Korean citizens to partake in the developmental project of the nation state. This discourse to enlist citizens to the national project depended just as much on othering those countries that fell behind in the global competition as much as the country emphasized "catching up" with the advanced western nation states (and although more complicated, Japan). Just like developmental nationalism, brand nationalism ensures that consumption and production practices of citizens contribute to capital accumulation of the state, and citizens are mobilized to prioritize national advancement in the end. As such, cosmopolitanism in Korean context resides on strengthening, rather than decentering, national identity to bolster the visibility, attractiveness, and competence of the nation state in a neoliberal global order. And end the end, the host countries for which Korea is commitment to doing good serve as a marker of a national status symbol, showing how much the country has developed. Such donor-centeredness in the volunteer program makes the parallels in developmental nationalism and brand nationalism the more evident. The fundamental logic of developmental and brand nationalism, therefore, remains consistent, and brand nationalism is a manifestation of how Korea has embraced and localized neoliberalism in accordance to its developmentalist ideology.

7.4. Revisiting South-South Development Volunteering

The concept of south-south development is actively taken up by policy circles. However, what I found in this study is that the term South-South development cooperation needs to go beyond both optimistic and pessimistic perspectives toward dismantling and complication of the term itself and its assumptions. I suggest that used as an analytical framework, we may end up further reifying the very binary divide that South-South development has worked to complicate. First, we may end up naively celebrating development intervention programs by Southern nation states as being more detached from exploitative or national foreign policy interests than the Northern counterpart. This study found that in the case of Korea, its development intervention is imbricated in concerns over its own growth and appropriated as a status symbol. However, Korea is not alone. India, for example, rejected British development aid in view of the perceived negative publicity it affords (Gilligan, 2012) as well as humanitarian aid for its natural disasters (Withnall, 2018). Here, India is just as self-conscious of nation branding through development – being a recipient of aid negatively affects India's national image.

Second, by containing development initiative by non-Western nation states into the category of South-South development cooperation, we are continuing to enforce and perpetuate a categorical label that is no longer applicable in the contemporary era. By historicizing Korea's development discourse and by contextualizing the local to the global and vice versa, this study complicated the common assumptions of South-South development cooperation. In chapter 6, I sought to transcend the binary divide by looking at volunteering practice as taking place within multiple structures and contingencies. This

research defined development as a field where multiple interests and agendas are contested and negotiated. Likewise, volunteering takes place within multi-dimensional structures of global forces, national agenda, and institutional regulation, which constrain and enable how volunteering is practiced by volunteers. Findings from the chapter indicated that volunteers oftentimes were conscious of their inferior positionality but at the same time, reproduced racial hierarchically, further complicating it beyond the racial hierarchy by skin color to division according to ethnic identity. From South-South development perspective, it echoes the concern that the emerging donors engaging in South-South development cooperation may further subjugate the marginalized (Gray & Gills, 2016). However, at the same time, this study found that volunteers who were aware of critical approaches to development, such as structural causes of poverty, enabled these volunteers to form relationships that privileged the voice of the host. Furthermore, these volunteers expressed greater concern towards structural issues within host communities that marginalized certain groups. As such, South-South development cooperation needs to go beyond being juxtaposed to the Northern counterpart. South-South development needs to be contextualized with greater nuance, taking account of how the Eurocentric discourse of development continues to be maintained while some aspects are complicated or decentered.

7.5. Suggestions for Future Study

This research project was one of the first to take a critical approach to examine how Korea's development aid as an extension of the country's developmental discourse. Furthermore, despite the large size and scale of its international development volunteer program, it has yet to garner academic attention within and outside of Korea. Future projects on the dynamics and significance of international development volunteering can

be imagined both along empirical and theoretical lines and may concern geographical dimensions.

South-South development volunteering is characterized as offering important benefits compared to North-South volunteering, in that shared understanding, similar systems, processes, living conditions and cultures are considered advantageous conditions for South-South volunteering. However, multidirectional flow of people and resources make such claims overly simplified. Increased flow of capital to centers of the world, so that cities located in countries that are identified as the South may comprise global financial hub, such as Shanghai, Mumbai, and Johannesburg. Countries like China and India have one of the greatest income disparities, and in more cases than not, volunteers sent abroad are from the upper half in terms of their living conditions. Furthermore, a flow of people, such as labor migrants and refugees to Western countries is common. Against such global conditions, it would be too simplistic to define the South as a unified entity. Studies need to examine the notion of identity from multiple levels, at an individual (in terms of social, economic, and cultural identities) as well as regional (within nation state), national, and transnational conditions. Comparative research would further help to complicate and transcend the binary of North, South divide in development volunteering.

Second, this study calls for further research related to development, branding, and national identity. For example, we may expand critical interrogation of branding practices among the so-called rising donors, such as Korea, India, Turkey, and Thailand, among others. What are their interests and motivations? Who do these countries give to? And how do they communicate their development work to the domestic and international public? Such comparative approach may offer a more nuanced understanding of development by previous recipients of aid in terms of the extent to which the dominant

discourses of development are adopted, reworked, or dismantled. A limitation in this study is the small number of interviews with volunteer sending agencies, including KOICA. Given the fragmented nature of the volunteer program, interviews with the staff would have offered a clearer picture of the interests of different actors. Furthermore, this study had to rely on archival data to understand the role of PCNB. By the time the study had taken off, PCNB was already shut down by the subsequent government and former staff members could not be located. More in-depth knowledge about the internal structure, coordinating bodies, and different interests guiding the volunteer program would help to strengthen the study. As such, future study might further delve into identifying differing interests and visions of World Friends Korea, and the extent to which the nature of the program itself changed before, during, and post- PCNB. This material would lead to further insights on the implication of nation branding on development.

My intent in broadening the research agenda is to foreground development as a field of struggle that is constantly in flux. Communication plays an important role in the dynamic contestation and negotiation of interests and concerns. To uncover such dynamics of South-South development, we need to shed simplified assumptions and continue the critical exercise of engaging with its discourses, representations, and practices at the intersection of global and local levels and in cultural and political contexts.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Organizational Breakdown of WFK

Jurisdiction	Program	Implementing Agency	Length	Range of Activities	Volunteers Deployed in 2015
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)	KOICA Overseas Volunteer (KOV)	KOICA	2 yrs.	- education - public health - industrial energy - public administration - farming and fishery - transfer of technology	1,263
	World Friends KOICA Advisors	KOICA	6 mo. – 1 yr.		146
Ministry of Education	Korea Youth Volunteer	Korean University Council for Social Services (KUCSS)	2 wk – 6 mo.	- education (Korean and English language, sports, Taekwondo, etc.) - cultural exchange - facility repairs/maintenance, sanitation	2,235
		Pacific Asia Society (PAS)			440
Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning	WFK-Korea IT Volunteer	Korea Information Society Agency	1 – 3 mo.	- IT education - IT Korea promotion	564
	WFK-Korea Techno Peace Corps	National Research Foundation of Korea	1 yr.	- IT education - technology consulting and transfer	49
Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy	World Friends NIPA Advisors	National IT Industry Promotion Agency	1 yr.	-Industrial technology - IT - energy resource - trade investment - regional development	117
Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (MCST)	World Taekwondo Peace Corps	World Taekwondo Peace Corps Foundation	6 mo. – 1 yr.	- Taekwondo education	236
					5,050

Appendix 2. Newspapers Cited in Chapter 4

Blueprint to Modernization. (1970, Nov. 28). Blueprint to modernization: Agriculture census to be administered from Dec. 1 for one moth nationwide. *Maeil Business Newspaper*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1970112800099207001&editNo=1&printCount=1&publishDate=1970-11-28&officeId=00009&pageNo=7&printNo=1453&publishType=00020

Change in perception, from periphery to the center. (2009, September 30). Lee Myung-bak press conference. *Maeil Business Newspaper*. https://www.kinds.or.kr/news/detailSearch.do

Cho, W. (2009, Aug. 17). Interview: There is no problem in Naroho engine. Kyunghyang Shinmun. https://www.kinds.or.kr/news/detailSearch.do

Cho, W. C. (1997, Nov. 21). Few winners, many losers. Globalization is a fiction. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1995030700329104005&editNo=20&printCount=1&publishDate=1995-03-07&officeId=00032&pageNo=4&printNo=15360&publishType=00010

Choi, I. H. (2010, June 24). Netizens Excited at Taeguk Warriers making the second round. *Maeil Business Newspaper*. https://www.kinds.or.kr/news/detailSearch.do

Claims of Modernization. (1970, May 15). Claims of Modernization… How much has changed? *Dong-A Ilbo.* https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1970051500209203001&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1970-05-15&officeId=00020&pageNo=3&printNo=14952&publishType=00020

Commentary. 1960, Oct. 29. Commentary. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1960102900329201025&editNo=3&printCount=1&publishDate=1960-10-29&officeId=00032&pageNo=1&printNo=4512&publishType=00020

Contributing to Agricultural and Fishery Modernization. (1966, Aug. 30). Contributing to agricultural and fishery modernization. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1966083000329201007&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1966-08-30&officeId=00032&pageNo=1&printNo=6423&publishType=00020

Developing human resource. (1966, Nov. 7). Development human resource and participating in modernization of fatherland. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1966110700329201006&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1966-11-07&officeId=00032&pageNo=1&printNo=6482&publishType=00020

Han, B. (1996a, Nov. 30). Han Biya's Reading the World: I am where globalization starts. *Dong-A Ilbo*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1996113000209121004&editNo=45&printCount=1&publishDate=1996-11-30&officeId=00020&pageNo=21&printNo=23382&publishType=00010

Han, B. (1996, Oct. 5b). Han Biya's Reading the World: To the dads… *Dong-A Ilbo*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1996100500209121004&editNo=45&printCount=1&publishDate=1996-10-05&officeId=00020&pageNo=21&printNo=23329&publishType=00010

Han, B. (1996c, Sept 21) Han Biya's Reading the World: Water. Complaint of five wives. *Dong-A Ilbo*. Commentary. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1996092100209121009&editNo=45&printCount=1&publishDate=1996-09-21&officeId=00020&pageNo=21&printNo=23318&publishType=00010

Huh, W. S. (1995, March 7). Segyehwa Romanization. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1995030700329104005&editNo=20&printCount=1&publishDate=1995-03-07&officeId=00032&pageNo=4&printNo=15360&publishType=00010

Keynote on Saemaul. (1972, Feb. 8). Keynote on Saemaul administration.*Kyunghyang Shinmun.* https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1972020800329201022&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1972-02-08&officeId=00032&pageNo=1&printNo=8109&publishType=00020

Kim, J. H. (2008, Sept. 8). Sports is an investment. *Maeil Business Newspaper*. https://www.kinds.or.kr/news/detailSearch.do

Lee, G. W. (1995, May 4). The road to globalization. *Maeil Business newspaper*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1995050400991400116&editNo=16&printCount=1&publishDate=1995-05-04&officeId=00009&pageNo=40&printNo=9088&publishType=00010

Lee, J. H. & Koh, S. Y. (2010, June 28). Social psychology of World Cup street cheering. *Maeil Business Newspaper*. https://www.kinds.or.kr/news/detailSearch.do

Modernizing Police Investigation Technology. (1970, March 21). Modernizing police investigation technology. *Dong-A Ilbo*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1970032100209203006&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1970-03-21&officeId=00020&pageNo=3&printNo=14906&publishType=00020

New Landscape of a Farming Village. (1977, June 23). New landscape of a farming village. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*.

https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1977062300329206012&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1977-06-23&officeId=00032&pageNo=6&printNo=9764&publishType=00020

"New Years' Address. (1994, Jan. 1). New Year Address: Toward the sea of segyehwa. *Dong-A Ilbo.*

https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1994010100209102001&editNo=40&printCount=1&publishDate=1994-01-01&officeId=00020&pageNo=2&printNo=22388&publishType=00010.

Noh, D. S. (1970, March 4). Educational modernization begins with reform in school tradition. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1970030400329202005&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1970-03-04&officeId=00032&pageNo=2&printNo=7510&publishType=00020

President Chun, Creation of Seonjin. (1983, June 23). *Kyunghyang Shinmun*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1983062300329201007&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1983-06-23&officeId=00032&pageNo=1&printNo=11610&publishType=00020

President Park Urges Expansion (1972, March 7). President Park Urges Expansion of Saemaul Undong to all citizens in a Cabinet meeting. *Kyunghyang Shinmun*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1972030700329201003&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1972-03-07&officeId=00032&pageNo=1&printNo=8133&publishType=00020

Saemaul Undong for All Farmers. (1972, Feb. 8). Saemaul Undong for All Farmers. *Maeil Business Newspaper.* https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1972020800099201009&editNo=1&printCount=1&publishDate=1972-02-08&officeId=00009&pageNo=1&printNo=1822&publishType=00020

Seonjinhwa and the role of the elite. (1983, May 30). Seonjinhwa and the role of the elite. Kyunghyang Shinmun. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1983053000329202001&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1983-05-30&officeId=00032&pageNo=2&printNo=11589&publishType=00020

seonjinhwa of the consciousness. (1983, Feb. 16). Seonjinhwa of the consciousness. *Maeil Business Newspaper*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1983021600099201010&editNo=1&printCount=1&publishDate=1983-02-16&officeId=00009&pageNo=1&printNo=5216&publishType=00020

Sports Seonjinhwa. (1983, June 23). President Chun Urge Soccer Team to Lead Seonjinhwa in Sports. *Dong-A Ilbo*. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1983062300209201007&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1983-06-23&officeId=00020&pageNo=1&printNo=18990&publishType=00020

Suh, B. G. (1970a, Sept 22). Opinion: The spiritual mentality of the farmer. Maeil Business Newspaper. https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1970092200099201006&editNo=1&printCount=1&publishDate=1970-09-22&officeId=00009&pageNo=1&printNo=1395&publishType=00020

Suh, B. G. (1970b, Aug. 3) Opinion: The spirit of self-help, self-reliance, and self-ownership. *Maeil Business Newspaper.* https://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1970080300099201011&editNo=1&printCount=1&publishDate=1970-08-03&officeId=00009&pageNo=1&printNo=1352&publishType=00020

Appendix 3. List of Abbreviations

BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EDCF	Economic Development Cooperation Fund
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
HLF4	Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JOCV	Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers
KDI	Korea Development Institute
KSP	Knowledge Sharing Program
KOICA	Korea International Cooperation Agency
KOV	KOICA Overseas Volunteers
KSP	Knowledge Sharing Program
KUCSS	Korea University Council for Social Service
LDC	Least Developed Country
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCNB	Presidential Council of Nation Branding
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

WFK World Friends Korea

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abidin, C. (2017). influencer extravaganza: Commercial "lifestyle" microcelebrities in Singapore. In L. Hjorth, H. Horst, A. Galloway, & G. Bell (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to digital ethnographies* (pp. 158–168). New York, NY: Routledge.

Alegi, P. (2008). "A nation to be reckoned with": The politics of World Cup Stadium construction in Cape Town and Durban, South Africa. *African Affairs*, *67*(3), 397–422.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.

Anholt, S. (2003). *Brand new justice: how branding places and products can help the developing world*. Oxford, UK: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

Anholt, S. (2007). *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *7*(2–3), 295–310.

Armijo, L. E. (2007). The BRICs countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) as analytical category: mirage or insight? *Asian Perspective*, *31*(4), 7–42.

Arvidsson, A. (2005). Brands: A critical perspective. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *5*(2), 235–258.

Arvidsson, A. (2007). The logic of the brand. Retrieved from http://eprints.biblio.unitn.it/4336/

Atwood, B. (2012). Creating a global partnership for effective development cooperation. In *Creating Public Value in a Multi-Sector, Shared-Power World*. University of Minnesota. Retrieved from http://www.leadership.umn.edu/documents/Atwood7.27.12.pdf

Aynte, A. (2012). Turkey's increasing role in Somalia: An emerging donor? *Al Jazeera Center for Studies Report, 22*.

Baaz, M. E. (2005). *The paternalism of partnership: A postcolonial reading of identity in development aid*. London, UK: Zed Books.

Baker, C. (2008). Wild dances and dying wolves: Simulation, essentialization, and national identity at the Eurovision Song Contest. *Popular Communication, 6*(3), 173–189.

Balibar, E. (1991). The nation form: History and ideology. In E. Balibar & E. Wallerstein, *Race, nation, class: Ambiguous identities* (pp. 86–106). London, UK: Verso.

Balie Smith, M. B., Laurie, N., & Griffiths, M. (forthcoming). South–South volunteering and development. *The Geographical Journal*, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12243

Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalization: The human consequences*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Bauman, Z. (2004). *Wasted lives: Modernity and its outcasts*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Beck, U., & Levy, D. (2013). Cosmopolitanized Nations: Re-imagining Collectivity in World Risk Society. *Theory, Culture and Society*, *30*(2), 3–31.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London, UK: Sage.

Boltanski, L. (1999). *Distant suffering: Morality, media and politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1973). Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In R. Brown (Ed.), *Knowledge, education, and cultural change* (pp. 71–112). London, UK: Routledge.

Browning, C. S. (2016). Nation branding and development: Poverty panacea or business as usual? *Journal of International Relations and Development*, *19*(1), 50–75. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/10.1057/jird.2014.14

Burawoy, M. (1998). The extended case method. *Sociological Theory*, *16*(1), 4–33.

Butcher, J., & Einolf, C. (2016). *Perspectives on volunteering. Nonprofit and civil society studies.* New York: Springer.

Cannon-Lorgan, C. (1999). *The Experience of Villagization: lessons from Ethiopia, Mozambique and Tanzania*. London, UK: Oxfam Great Britain.

Castells, M. (2010). *The rise of the network society* (2nd Ed., Vol. The information age: Economy, society, and culture Volume 1). West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Castells, M. (2012). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Ceccagno, A., & Graziani, S. (2016). Chinese Volunteering in Africa. *Annali Di Ca' Foscari. Serie Orientale*, *52*, 297–333. https://doi.org/10.14277/2385-3042/AnnOr-52-16-11

Chakravartty, P. (2009). Modernization Redux? Cultural Studies & Development Communication. *Television & New Media*, *10*(1), 37–39.

Cho, E. (2013). Self-perception of the non-West and historicism: The familly planning program in South Korea. *Society and History*, *98*, 121–153.

Cho, H. (2000). The structure of the South Korean developmental regime and its transformation ± statist mobilization and authoritarian integration in the anticommunist regimentation. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, *1*(3), 408–426. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649370020009915

Choi, Y. C., Choi, O. C., & Kim, H. S. (2011). Analysing Key Policy Concepts Underlying Saemaul Undong Policy Within Newspaper Editorials: Application of Network Text Analysis Method. *Korean Comparative Government Review*, *15*(3), 45–70.

Christensen, C. (2011). Discourses of technology and liberation: State aid to net activists in an era of "Twitter Revolutions." *The Communication Review*, *14*(3), 233–253.

Christensen, C. (2013). @ Sweden: Curating a nation on Twitter. *Popular Communication*, *11*(1), 30–46.

Cobbs-Hoffman, E. (1998). *All you need is love: The Peace Corps and the spirit of the 1960s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Coffey, A. (1999). *The ethnographic self: Fieldwork and the representation of identity*. Tousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Croucher, S. (2015). From world citizenship to purified patriotism: Obama's nation-shaping in a global era. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, *22*(1), 1–18.

Curran, J. (2002). *Media and power*. London, UK: Routledge.

Dinnie, K. (2009). Repositioning the Korea brand to a global audience: challenges, pitfalls, and current strategy. *Korea Economic Institute Academic Paper Series December*, *4*(9), 1–7.

Diprose, K. (2012). Critical distance: doing development education through international volunteering. *Area*, *44*(2), 186–192.

Doucette, J., & Müller, A. R. (2016). Exporting the Saemaul spirit: South Korea's Knowledge Sharing Program and the "rendering technical"of Korean development. *Geoforum*, *75*, 29–39.

Dutta, M., J. (2011). *Communicating social change: Structure, culture, and agency*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Edwards, M. (2009). Why "philanthrocapitalism" is not the answer: Private initiatives and international development. In M. Kremer, P. van Lieshout, & R. Went (Eds.), *Doing good or doing better: Development policies in a globalizing world* (pp. 237–254). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press.

Enghel, F., & Noske-Turner, J. (2018). *Communication in international development: Doing good or looking good?* Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Enghel, F., & Wilkins, K. G. (2012). Mobilizing Communication Globally: For what and for whom. *Nordicom Review, 33*(Special Issue), 9–12.

Escobar, A. (1984). Discourse and Power in Development: Michel Foucault and the Relevance of His Work to the Third World. *Alternatives, 10*(3), 377–400. https://doi.org/10.1177/030437548401000304

Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Fanon, F. (1986). *Black skin, white masks*. London, UK: Pluto Press.

Feasel, E. M. (2014). *Japan's Aid: Lessons for economic growth, development and political economy*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Fehrenbach, H., & Rodogno, D. (2015a). "A horrific photo of a drowned Syrian child": humanitarian photography and NGO media strategies in historical perspective. *International Review of the Red Cross, 97*(900), 1121–1155.

Fehrenbach, H., & Rodogno, D. (2015b). *Humanitarian photography*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson, J. (1990). *The anti-politics machine:'development', depoliticization and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Fischer, F. (1998). *Making them like us: Peace Corps volunteers in the 1960s*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Florida, R. (2005). *Cities and the creative class*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish*. (Alan Sheridan, Trans.). New York, NY: Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. In P. Rabinow & H. Dreyfus, *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics* (pp. 208–226). Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Foucault, M. (2008). *The birth of biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*. (M. Senellart, A. I. Davidson, A. Fontana, & F. Ewald, Eds., G. Burchell, Trans.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M. (2013). *Archaeology of knowledge*. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Garcia, C. (2017, December 8). Beyond Hallyu: How Korea plans to attract more tourists. *Business World*. Retrieved from https://www.bworldonline.com/beyond-hallyuhow-korea-plans-attract-tourists/

Gellner, E. (2006). *Nations and nationalism* (2nd Ed.). Ithaka, NY: Cornell University Press.

Georgeou, N. (2012). *Neoliberalism, Development, and Aid Volunteering*. New York: Routledge.

Georgeou, N., & Engel, S. (2011). The impact of neoliberalism and new managerialism on development volunteering: An Australian case study. *Australian Journal of Political Science, 46*(2), 297–311.

Gill, S. (1995). Globalisation, market civilisation, and disciplinary neoliberalism. *MILLENNIUM-LONDON-LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS-*, *24*, 399–424.

Gilligan, A. (2012, February 4). India tells Britain: We don't want your aid. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/india/9061844/India-tells-Britain-We-dont-want-your-aid.html

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci: Ed. and Transl. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith.* New York: International Publishers.

Gray, K., & Gills, B. K. (2016). South–South cooperation and the rise of the Global South. *Third World Quarterly*, *37*(4), 557–574.

Grumcio-Dagron, A., & Tufte, T. (2006). *Communication for social change anthology: Historical and contemporary readings*. CFSC Consortium, Inc.

Ha, S.-B. (2012). Yellow skin, white masks: A historical consideration of internalized racism and multiculturalism in South Korea. *Journal of Humanities*, *33*, 525–556.

Han, S.-M. (2004). The new community movement: Park Chung Hee and the making of state populism in Korea. *Pacific Affairs*, 69–93.

Hanchey, J. (2015). Constructing American exceptionalism: Peace Corps volunteer discourses of race, gender, and empowerment. In M. W. Kramer, L. Lewis K., & L. M. Gossett (Eds.), *Volunteering and Communication, Vol. 2* (pp. 233–250). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2001). *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Harrison, G. (2013). Campaign Africa: Exploring the Representation of Africa and Its Role in British Identity. *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, *15*(4), 528–547. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2012.00520.x

Harvey, D. (2001). The art of rent: Globalization and the commodification of culture. In *Spaces of Capital* (pp. 394–411). New York, NY: Routledge.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric. (2013). Introduction: Inventing traditions. In *The invention of tradition* (pp. 1–14). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hong, K. (2014). Nation branding of Korea. In H.-K. Lee & L. Lim (Eds.), *Cultural policies in East Asia: Dynamics between the state, arts and creative industries* (pp. 69–84). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hynes, W., & Scott, S. (2013). The Evolution of Official Development Assistance: Achievements, Criticisms and a Way Forward. *OECD Development Co-Operation Working Papers, No. 12*. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k3v1dv3f024-en

Irani, D. (2017, March 22). South Korea's drama-tic tactic to drive tourists to Seoul. *The Economic Times*. Retrieved from https://brandequity.economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/marketing/south-koreas-drama-tic-tactic-to-drive-tourists-to-seoul/57753140

Iwabuchi, K. (2015). *Resilient borders and cultural diversity: Internationalism, brand nationalism, and multiculturalism in Japan*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Jennings, M. (2008). *Surrogates of the state: NGOs, development, and Ujamaa in Tanzania*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Jerve, A. M., & Selbervik, H. (2009). Self-interest and global responsibility: Aid policies of South Korea and India in the making. *CMI Report*. Retrieved from https://www.cmi.no/publications/file/3372-self-interest-and-global-responsibility.pdf

Jin, D. (2014). The Power of the Nation-state amid Neo-liberal Reform: Shifting Cultural Politics in the New Korean Wave. *Pacific Affairs*, *87*(1), 71–92.

Jones, A. (2011). Theorising international youth volunteering: training for global (corporate) work? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *36*(4), 530–544.

Kaneva, N. (2011). Nation branding: Toward an agenda for critical research. *International Journal of Communication*, *5*, 117–141.

Kaneva, N. (2018). Nation Branding, Neoliberal Development, and the Remaking of the Nation-State: Lessons from Post-War Kosovo. In *Communicating national image through development and diplomacy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Kaneva, N., & Popescu, D. (2014). "We are Romanian, not Roma": Nation Branding and Postsocialist Discourses of Alterity. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, *7*(4), 506–523.

Kapoor, I. (2013). *celebrity humanitarianism: The ideology of global charity*. London: Routledge.

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Khanna, P. (2014). New BRICS Bank a Building Block of Alternative World Order. *New Perspectives Quarterly*, *31*(4), 46–48. https://doi.org/10.1111/npqu.11490

Kibria, N. (2000). Race, ethnic options, and ethnic binds: Identity negotiations of second-generation Chinese and Korean Americans. *Sociological Perspectives*, *43*(1), 77–95.

Kim, E. M., Kim, P. H., & Kim, J. (2013). From development to development cooperation: foreign aid, country ownership, and the developmental state in South Korea. *Pacific Review*, *26*(3), 313–336. https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2012.759263

Kim, E. M., & Oh, J. (2012). Determinants of Foreign Aid: The Case of South Korea. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *12*, 251–273.

Kim, H. J., Chen, M.-H., & Su, H.-J. (2009). Research note: The impact of Korean TV dramas on Taiwanese tourism demand for Korea. *Tourism Economics*, *15*(4), 867–873.

Kim, J. (2014). The discursive structure of developmentalism in Korea: A comparison of geundaehwa, segyehwa, and seonjinhwa discourses. *Economy and society*, *103*, 166–195.

Kim, J. (2018). *Eurocentrism and development in Korea*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Kim, S. (2011). Bridging troubled worlds? An analysis of the ethical case for South Korean aid. *Journal of International Development*, *23*(6), 802–822.

Kim, Y. M. (2009). *Their Saemaul Undong*. Seoul, Korea: Pureunyeoksa.

Kimani, W. (2016, September 8). Big read: How Kenya can emulate South Korea's rural development model to prosper. *The Star*. Retrieved from https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2016/09/08/big-read-how-kenya-can-emulate-south-koreas-rural-development-model-to_c1412308

KOICA. (2016). *World Friends Korea: Statistical Report, 2015*. Seongnam, South Korea: KOICA.

KOICA. (2017a). *2016 Budget Report*. Seongnam, South Korea: KOICA.

KOICA. (2017b). Benefits for WFK-KOV. Retrieved October 2, 2018, from https://kov.koica.go.kr/benefits/benefits.koica

KOICA World Friends Team. (2018). *A guide to (a fun and easy) field project*. Seongnam, South Korea: KOICA.

Korea Brand. (2009, August 26). What is national brand value? Korea discount vs. Korea premium. Retrieved November 27, 2018, from http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=korea_brand&logNo=10068315172&parentCategoryNo=&categoryNo=9&viewDate=&isShowPopularPosts=true&from=search

Lee, K. S., & Kang, J. (2016). Inventiing tradition, branding nation: Constructing South Korea's national identity in historical faction dramas. Presented at the International Communication Association, Fukuoka, Japan.

Lee, M. (2008, August 15). Congratulatory speech on 63rd Independence Day and 60th anniversary of Korea. Retrieved October 2, 2018, from http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp

Lee, M. (2018). *2018 WFK volunteer comprehensive pre-departure training plan*. Seongnam, South Korea: KOICA.

Lee, S. J. (2015). South Korea's Middle Power Activism and the Retooling of Its Public Diplomacy. In *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia* (pp. 107–129). Springer.

Lemke, T. (2016). *Foucualt, governmentality, and critique*. New York: Routledge.

Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Li, T. M. (2007). *The will to improve: Governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2011). *Qualitative communication research methods*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Lull, J. (1995). Hegemony. In *Media, communications and culture: A global approach* (pp. 33–36). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Malkki, L. (1994). Citizens of humanity: Internationalism and the imagined community of nations. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, *3*(1), 41–68.

Manzo, K. (2008). Imaging humanitarianism: NGO identity and the iconography of childhood. *Antipode*, *40*(4), 632–657.

Mawdsley, E. (2012). *From recipients to donors: Emerging powers and the changing development landscape*. London, UK: Zed Books.

Mawdsley, E. (2017). Development geography 1: Cooperation, competition and convergence between "North" and "South." *Progress in Human Geography*, *41*(1), 108–117. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515601776

McAnany, E. G. (2012). *Saving the World: A Brief History of Communication for Devleopment and Social Change*. University of Illinois Press.

McCurry, J. (2017, September 21). South Korea approves $8m aid package for North Korea. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/21/south-korea-approves-8m-aid-package-for-north-korea

Moeller, S. D. (2002). A hierarchy of innocence: The media's use of children in the telling of international news. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *7*(1), 36–56.

Ngau, P. M. (1987). Tensions in empowerment: The experience of the" Harambee"(self-help) movement in Kenya. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *35*(3), 523–538.

Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*. PublicAffairs.

OECD. (2016). *Development co-operation report 2016: The sustainable development goals as business opportunities*. Paris: OECD Publishing. Retrieved from http://dx/doi.org/10.1787/dcr-2016-en

OECD. (2018a). *Development co-operation report 2018*. OCED. Retrieved from https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/development-co-operation-report-2018_dcr-2018-en

OECD. (2018b). Development finance of countries beyond the DAC. Retrieved from http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/non-dac-reporting.htm

Ogan, C. L., Bashir, M., Camaj, L., Luo, Y., Gaddie, B., Pennington, R., … Salih, M. (2009). Development communication: The state of research in an era of ICTs and globalization. *International Communication Gazette*, *71*(8), 655–670.

Oh, C. (2014). The politics of the dancing body: Racialized and gendered femininity in Korean pop. In Y. Kuwahara (Ed.), *The Korean Wave: Korean Popular Culture in Global Context* (pp. 53–81). Palgrave Macmillan.

O'Neill, J. (2001). Building better global economic BRICs. *Goldman Sachs Global Economics Paper*, *66*, 1–16.

Orgad, S., & Seu, I. B. (2014). The Mediation of Humanitarianism: Toward a Research Framework. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, *7*(1), 6–36. https://doi.org/10.1111/cccr.12036

Pamment, J. (2016). Introduction. In J. Pamment (Ed.), *Intersections between public diplomacy and international development: Case studies in converging fields* (pp. 7–18). Los Angeles, CA: Figueroa Press.

Park, J.-H. (2016, August 17). [in-depth investigtion] The lost 2 years of KOICA international volunteer. *Joongang Magazine*. Retrieved from http://jmagazine.joins.com/monthly/view/312914#self

Perold, H., Graham, L. A., Mavungu, E. M., Cronin, K., Muchemwa, L., & Lough, B. J. (2013). The colonial legacy of international voluntary service. *Community Development Journal*, *48*(2), 179–196.

Pieterse, J. N. (2010). *Development theory* (2nd Edition). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Presidential Council of Nation Branding. (2013). *Nation branding white paper, 2008-2013*. Seoul, Korea: Presidential Council of Nation Branding.

Pye, L. (Ed.). (1963). *Communications and political development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Raymond, E. M., & Hall, C. M. (2008). The development of cross-cultural (mis) understanding through volunteer tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 16*(5), 530–543.

Renan, E. (1990). What is a nation? In H. Bhabha (Ed.), *Nation and narration* (pp. 8–22). New York: Routledge.

Richey, L. A., & Ponte, S. (2011). *Brand aid: Shopping well to save the world*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Rose, G. (2016). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials*. sage.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism: Western representations of the Orient*. New York, NY: Pantheon.

Schattle, H. (2015). Global citizenship as a national project: The evolution of segye shimin in South Korean public discourse. *Citizenship Studies*, *19*(1), 53–68.

Schech, S. (2016). International volunteering in development assistance: Partnership, public diplomacy, or communication for development? In *Voice and matter: Communication, development and the cultural turn* (pp. 87–99). Göteborg, Sweden: Nordicom.

Schramm, W. (1963). Communication development and the development process. In L. Pye (Ed.), *Communications and political development.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Servaes, J. (1999). *Communication for development: One world, multiple cultures*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Servaes, J. (2008). *Communication for development and social change*. New Delhi, India: SAGE Publications India.

Seu, I. B. (2015). Appealing children: UK audiences' responses to the use of children in humanitarian communications. *International Communication Gazette*, *77*(7), 654–667.

Shah, H. (2010). Meta-research of development communication studies, 1997-2006. *Global Times*, *15*. Retrieved from http://glocaltimes.mah.se/index.php/gt/article/view/172

Shah, H. (2011). *The Production of Modernization: Daniel Lerner, Mass Media, and The Passing of Traditional Society*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Sklair, L. (1997). Social Movements for Global Capitalism: The Transnational Capitalist Class in Action. *Review of International Political Economy*, *4*(3), 514–538.

Sklair, L. (2001). *The transnational capitalist class*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Smith, A. D. (2010). *Nationalism: Theory, ideology, history* (2nd Ed.). Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Song, E. (2013). The politics of leisure culture in the 1960s. *한국학논집 [Hangukangnonjip', 51*(6), 71–98.

Stallings, B., & Kim, E. M. (2016). apan, Korea, and China: Styles of ODA in East Asia. In H. Kato, J. Page, & Y. Shimomura (Eds.), *Japan's Development Assistance* (pp. 120–134). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Strasser, S. (2013). *Commodifying everything: relationships of the market*. Routledge.

Straubhaar, J. (1991). *Beyond Media Imperialism: Assymetrical Interdependence and Cultural Proximity* (Vol. 8).

Taylor, A. (2013, May 13). Sichuan Earthquake: Five Years Later - The Atlantic. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2013/05/sichuan-earthquake-five-years-later/100513/

Tomlinson, B. (2014). Fit for Purpose: ODA and the financing of the Post-2015 Development Agenda. *Rethinking Partnerships in a Post-2015 World: Towards Equitable, Inclusive and Sustainable Development*, 132–191.

Tomlinson, B. (2014). *Reality of aid 2014 report: Rethinking partnerships in a post-2015 world: Towards, equitable, inclusive and sustainable development*. Quezon City, Philippines: IBON International.

UNDP. (2013). *United Nations Development Programme project document*. Retrieved from http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/documents/capacity/docs/Saemaul%20project%20document_Signed(2).pdf

Van Ham, P. (2002). Branding territory: Inside the wonderful worlds of PR and IR theory. *Millenium: Journal of International Studies*, *31*(2), 249–269.

Verderey, K. (2012). Wither "nation" and "nationalism"? In *Mapping the nation* (pp. 226–234). Brooklyn, NY: Verso.

Volcic, Z., & Andrejevic, M. (2011). Nation Branding in the Era of Commercial Nationalism. *International Journal of Communication*, *5*, 598–618.

Volcic, Z., & Andrejevic, M. (2016a). *Commercial nationalism: Selling the nation and nationalizing the sell*. Springer.

Volcic, Z., & Andrejevic, M. (2016b). Introduction. In Z. Volcic & M. Andrejevic (Eds.), *Commercial nationalism: Selling the nation and nationalizing the sell* (pp. 1–13). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Waisbord, S. (2008). The institutional challenges of participatory communication in international aid. *Social Identities*, *14*(4), 505–522.

Walz, J., & Ramachandran, V. (2011). Brave New World: A Literature Review of Emerging Donors and the Changing Nature of Foreign Assistance. *Center for Global Development Working Paper 273*. Retrieved from http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1425691

Watanabe, C. (2018). Instrumental Culturalism: The Work of Comparisons across Japan,"the West"and Myanmar. *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and-National Studies of Southeast Asia*, *6*(1), 27–45.

Watson, I. (2012). Governments and NGOs in Asian Overseas Development Assistance: Assessing South Korea's Model of Foreign Aid. *Asian Studies Review*, *36*(1), 79–103. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2011.652067

Wei, W. (1998). Dominant or alternative paradigm? A metaresearch of mass communication and development studies in Asia in the 1990s. *Journal of Development Communication*, *9*(2), 31–44.

Widler, J. (2007). Nation branding: With pride against prejudice. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *3*(2), 144–150.

Wilk, R. (1995). Learning to be local in Belize: Global systems of common difference. In D. Miller (Ed.), *Worlds apart: Modernity through the prism of the local* (pp. 110–133). London, UK: Routledge.

Wilkins, K. G. (2000). Accounting for power in development communication. In *Redeveloping communication for social change: Theory, practice, and power* (pp. 197–210). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Wilkins, K. G. (2014). Advocacy communication. In *The handbook of development communication and social change* (pp. 57–71). Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons. Retrieved from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118505328.ch4/summary

Wilkins, K. G. (2016). *Communicating gender and advocating accountability in global development*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wilkins, K. G. (2018). Communication about development and the challenge of doing well: Donor branding in the West Bank. In F. Enghel & J. Noske-Turner (Eds.), *Communication in international development: Doing good or looking good?* (pp. 76–95). Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Wilkins, K. G., & Mody, B. (2001). Reshaping Development Communication: Developing Communication and Communicating Development. *Communication Theory, 11*(4), 385–396.

Withnall, A. (2018, August 22). India to "politely" reject foreign aid for Kerala flooding crisis. *Independent*. Retrieved from https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/kerala-floods-inida-aid-reject-international-help-dead-rescue-rebuild-a8502406.html

Wolf, M. (2001). Will the nation-state survive globalization? *Foreign Affairs*, (January/February). Retrieved from https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2001-01-01/will-nation-state-survive-globalization

Woo, J. (1991). *Race to the swift: State and finance in Korean industrialization*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Wood, E. M. (2003). *Empire of Capital*. London, UK: Verso.

World Bank Group. (2017). *Migration and remittances: Recent developments and outlook.* Retrieved from http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/992371492706371662/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief27.pdf

World Friends Operation Team. (2017). *2017 Report on World Friends statistics* (No. 11-B260003-000421–10). Seongnam, South Korea: KOICA.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (Third Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Yoon, K. J., & Jeon, G. W. (2009). A Study on the Origin and Development of Saemaul Movement: Utilizing Development State Theory. *대한정치학회보 [Daehanjeongchihakoebo]*, *17*(2), 73–104.

Youde, J. (2009). Ethical consumerism or reified neoliberalism? Product (RED) and private funding for public goods. *New Political Science*, *31*(2), 201–220.

Yúdice, G. (2003). *The expediency of culture: Uses of culture in the global era*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.